

Expert Report of Kathleen Blee
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Sines v. Kessler, No. 17-cv-00072

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Table of Contents

ASSIGNMENT	1
SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS.....	2
REPORT	3
A. Background	3
1. Methodology of Our Analysis	3
2. The Concept of Culture Frames This Report.....	6
B. The White Supremacist Movement Exhibits a Set of Core Characteristics	7
1. The WSM is Characterized by a Racist Ideology Based on White Supremacism, Anti-Semitism and Hostility Toward Immigrants, Social Minorities, and Feminism	8
2. The WSM is Characterized by a Radical Division Between Insiders and Outsiders.....	9
3. The WSM is Highly Decentralized, Yet Coordinated	9
4. The WSM is Characterized by a High Degree of Internal Conflict.....	10
5. The WSM Utilizes New Communication Technologies.....	10
6. The WSM Utilizes Double-Speak	11
7. The WSM Focuses on Optics and Utilizes Front-Stage and Back-Stage Behavior.....	13
8. The WSM is Characterized by the Use of Violence	14
a. The WSM Promotes Three Key Ideas That Trigger Racial Violence	15
i. The White Race is Threatened.....	16
ii. Jews, Nonwhites, “Commies,” and Other Enemies Threaten the White Race	17
iii. The Destruction of the White Race is Imminent.....	18
b. The WSM Glorifies Violence.....	19
c. The WSM Normalizes Violence	20
i. Constant and Pervasive Violent Messaging.....	20
ii. Repertoires of Violence	22
a) Coordinated Violence	23
b) WSM-Supported Violence by Individuals	23
iii. Ritualistic Displays of White Power.....	24
9. The WSM Socializes Its Recruits to Utilize Racially-Motivated Violence	25
10. The WSM Utilizes Strategies of Deniability	26
11. Summary of the WSM	29
C. Defendants’ Actions Evince an Involvement in, and Deep Familiarity with, the WSM.....	30
D. Defendants Participated in and Praised the Use of WSM Tactics at Pre-UTR Events	35

E. Defendants Exhibited the Characteristics of the WSM When Planning and Organizing UTR.....	36
1. Defendants Disseminated White Supremacist and Anti-Semitic Ideologies In Planning and Organizing UTR	36
2. Defendants Expressed A Radical Division Between Insiders and Outsider When Planning and Organizing UTR	38
3. Defendants Utilized New Communication Technologies to Plan UTR.....	38
4. Defendants Utilized Double-Speak When Planning and Organizing UTR	41
5. Defendants Engaged in Front-Stage and Back-Stage Behavior Typical of the WSM.....	44
6. Defendants’ Plans for UTR Mirrored WSM Tactics in Calling for Violence	46
a. The Defendants Promoted the Key Ideas That Trigger Racial Violence in the WSM.....	47
b. Defendants Glorified Violence While Planning and Organizing UTR	50
c. The Defendants Used Constant and Pervasive Messaging of Violence	52
d. Defendants Recruited UTR Participants That Were Willing to Utilize Violence	57
e. The Violence Planned on Discord Played Out on August 11-12, 2017, By Both Defendants and Other Discord Participants	58
f. The Defendants Ratified Their Use of WSM-Style Violence After the Rally	60
7. Defendants Utilized Strategies of Deniability Common to the WSM	62
8. Conclusion	63

ASSIGNMENT

Kathleen M. Blee is Distinguished Professor of sociology and Bettye J. and Ralph E. Bailey Dean of the Kenneth P. Dietrich School of Arts and Sciences and the College of General Studies at the University of Pittsburgh. She specializes in social movements, including racist/anti-Semitic and right-wing movements, racial violence, and microsociology. Her curriculum vitae is attached as Appendix A. Peter Simi is an Associate Professor in the Department of Sociology at Chapman University. He has studied extremist groups and violence for more than 20 years, conducting interviews and observation with a range of violent gangs and political extremists. His curriculum vitae is attached as Appendix B. Professor Blee and Professor Simi each received \$30,000 in compensation for their time rendering this report.

We have been retained as expert witnesses for Plaintiffs, to apply our expertise in the characteristics of the historical white supremacist movement to our examination of the materials in this case and analyze whether the Defendants utilized the tools and tactics of the white supremacist movement in planning and implementing the events on August 11-12, 2017, in Charlottesville, Virginia. Our findings in this matter were reached after our review of the documents available, and from utilizing the knowledge and expertise we have obtained based on our years of experience studying and publishing on the white supremacist movement. We considered the following facts and data in coming to the opinions for this report: (i) the sources identified in footnotes to this report; (ii) the sources identified in Appendix C; (iii) communications on Discord produced in this litigation, reviewed using the search terms identified in Appendix C; and (iv) other material produced in this litigation.

SUMMARY OF CONCLUSIONS

Based on our decades of research and publishing on white supremacy in the United States and our analysis of the organization and events associated with Unite the Right (UTR) in Charlottesville, Virginia in August 2017, we conclude that:

- The white supremacist movement (WSM) in the United States has consistently utilized, supported, and glorified violence as a strategy to promote its message and secure white supremacy.
- Defendants were active in and knowledgeable about the culture and networks of the WSM prior to UTR.
- UTR was organized to promote the agenda of the WSM.
- To organize UTR, Defendants used the cultural symbols, rituals, slogans, language, and references to historical figures that are the hallmarks of the WSM.
- Defendants shaped and made use of WSM culture and networks to recruit participants and to plan and execute UTR.
- The coordinated race-based violence facilitated and committed by Defendants at UTR is emblematic of WSM tactics.

REPORT

A. Background

This report is based on our decades of research and publishing on white supremacy in the United States, our review of the relevant scholarship on this topic, and our analysis of information and evidence about the Defendants associated with the August 11-12, 2017, UTR events in Charlottesville, Virginia.

1. Methodology of Our Analysis

The methodological steps in our analysis follow the research protocols that are standard in rigorous qualitative analyses in the social sciences, as codified in a report by the National Science Foundation¹ for which one of the authors of this report (Blee) was a principal author.

First, we drew on our decades of individual and collaborative research on white supremacy in the United States from the 1920s to the present. Our published research includes multiple studies of white supremacist violence, culture, recruitment, leadership, radicalization processes, criminal involvement, and the processes whereby white supremacist members leave the movement.

Second, we drew on our knowledge from decades of studying the research of social scientists, information analysts, computer scientists, and other scholars and analysts on domestic extremism, white supremacy, and ideologically-focused violence.

Third, we reviewed relevant information distributed by white supremacist and allied groups, government and security agencies, and nonprofit organizations, as well as media reports and publicly-available social media.

Fourth, we analyzed postings on Discord,² an Internet-based platform that enables real-time voice, video, and text connections between users, before, during and after the August 2017 UTR events. *See Appendix D (Glossary of Terms and Symbols).* At the outset, we read every post made by the individual Defendants, all posts within the Channels identified as those of the Defendant organizations, and posts within Channels associated with UTR. We also analyzed individual posts in the larger context of discussions on the Discord platform and by comparing Defendant posts with posts by other Discord users. For our review of Discord postings, we used a social scientific research strategy designed to ensure that conclusions are based on what the data revealed rather than the researcher's preconceptions. This strategy employed the strength of both logics of research design in modern social sciences, deduction and induction, to guide our searches on the Discord platform and our analysis of the posts that were generated in these searches.

¹ <https://www.nsf.gov/pubs/2004/nsf04219/nsf04219.pdf>.

² Discord was released publicly in 2015 to connect video game users and had 250 million registered users by 2019 (Jargon 2019; Roose 2017; Needleman 2018). Multiple features of Discord made it an attractive venue for white supremacist communications. Anyone over the age of 13 was permitted to join and start discussion groups. There was little oversight of message content except via user complaints. Although many of its servers that host gaming discussions were monitored, some contained content on topics such as school shootings and rape (Cox 2018; Jargon 2019; Weil 2018).

Deductive strategies begin with existing knowledge, and seek to test, refine, or extend this knowledge. For example, prior studies of WSM culture have uncovered certain ways of talking, such as disguising the meaning of certain phrases to outsiders by structuring them as jokes, and the use of insider terms such as “1488” that have specific meanings within WSM culture. Previous research also has found that activities in the WSM are likely to be referenced in a specific vocabulary, such as “shoot,” “gun,” and “power.” We use our knowledge of this research to guide the selection of terms and phrases that we used to search the Discord platform. We also used a deductive strategy to analyze the posts generated by these searches of the Discord platform. Based on our research and our knowledge of the research of other scholars, we analyzed the meaning of terms, phrases, and symbols that are commonly used in the WSM. Thus, we initially interpreted a post of “1488” to refer jointly to the “14 words” of the white supremacist terrorist David Lane and the double 88 to mean “Heil Hitler” because “H” is the 8th letter of the alphabet. As discussed below, we conducted additional levels of contextual analyses of Discord postings which, at times, resulted in a modification of our initial interpretations.

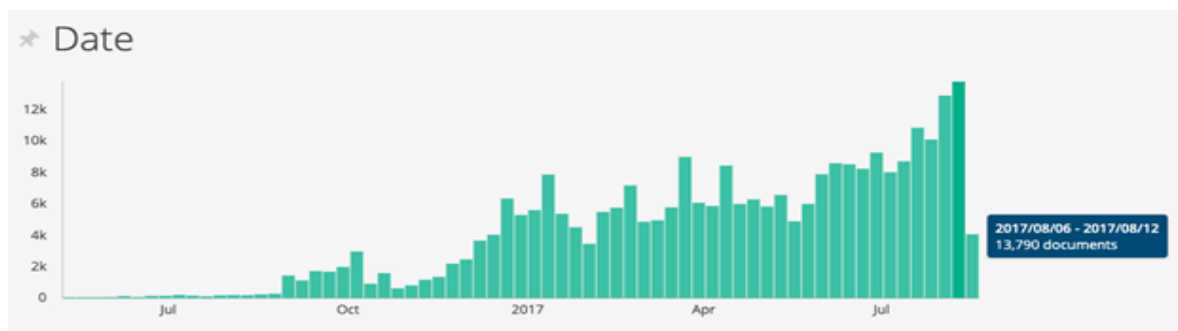
Used alone, a deductive strategy will fail to search for information that was not found in prior studies. To ensure that we did not exclude information, and to ensure that we could elicit and assess posts from the Discord platform in a fair and neutral manner, we supplemented a deductive strategic approach with an inductive strategic approach. An inductive approach begins with the data rather than with prior interpretations, so the researcher can weigh evidence without having a preconception of its meaning. We used inductive strategies by conducting searches of the Discord platform without specifying a search term. We were able to do so by using the capabilities of Everlaw, the software platform on which the Discord materials were hosted, to do random searches by sampling a selected percentage of total results. These searches generated batches of posts across the Discord platform from a random set of persons on a random set of topics, thus allowing us to locate information that had not been selected in our deductive searches. We conducted inductive analyses by reading through entire discussion “Channels” on Discord, including both those related and those unrelated to UTR events. This allowed us to understand the broad discussions on these Channels and avoid placing undue importance on idiosyncratic posts.

We conducted 1,461 searches of posts made between May 12, 2016 to December 12, 2018, to develop an accurate understanding of trends in post content and frequency over time.³ We used random searches as well as keyword searches across the entire Discord platform produced in the lawsuit to understand how Defendants and their affiliates operated on that platform and how they and others discussed the UTR events on that platform. These searches produced tens of thousands of posts in both text and image form. As noted above, we conducted searches both comprehensively (e.g., all posts to certain specific servers on the platform and all posts by Defendants) and selectively (e.g., targeted searches by keyword) to provide information that could challenge our pre-existing ideas as well as information that might confirm our opinions.

Many Defendants and their affiliates relied on a feature in Discord in which messages can be exchanged privately between two or more individuals without being visible to others on the Discord platform – direct messaging (DM), sometimes termed private messaging. We searched broadly in the direct messaging files of Discord and read every private message between Defendants for whom we had Discord handles.

³ May 12, 2016, is the earliest date of a Discord post produced in this litigation.

In addition to written posts, Discord had over 280,000 images posted between May 12, 2016, and August 14, 2017. We conducted a 1% random sample of all images, which produced 2,829 unique images. We also examined 1,411 images posted by Defendants. Defendants posted images at more than three times the rate of the average user data to which we had access (Defendant average = 202 images; all user average = 62 images). The largest number of images (13,790) were posted between August 6, 2017 and August 12, 2017, the period leading up to and including the 2017 UTR.



In total, we gathered and analyzed approximately 575,000 posts and direct messages from Discord. We made note of, and incorporated into this report, messages that appeared supportive of and counter to our overall findings.

Fifth, we examined documents made available to us by the Plaintiffs’ attorneys, including depositions of Defendants and third-party witnesses, and materials produced by Defendants and third-party witnesses. We analyzed these to assess their meaning and significance in the context of other information we have reviewed and our knowledge of and expertise on the WSM.⁴

Sixth, we took several additional measures to address the qualitative research protocol that researchers need to consider evidence that is potentially disconfirming (i.e., that does not support one’s initial hypotheses or presuppositions). We did so in part by using the standard social science technique of excluding irrelevant evidence to avoid distorting our results. Thus, when we searched the Discord platform for posts that, for example, encouraged Discord participants to be “careful” in their posting (which might be an indication of hiding violent messages), we individually assessed the relevance of each post generated by the search and excluded those in which the term “careful” had a different or ambiguous meaning. In addition, as noted above, we deliberately sought to locate information that potentially disconfirmed our initial suppositions by employing both inductive and deductive approaches in our analysis. And we elicited and considered potentially disconfirming information by considering all information in context. This was done by comparing posts by Defendants and their co-conspirators with posts by other users of Discord and by reading through entire Channels of Discord. We also added context by using both first-level (*prima facie*, or surface) analysis and second-level (contextual) analysis.

First-level analysis was used when the message of a written post or image was clear, as for example, the World War II-era German Nazi image with the caption “Get In Loser We’re Invading Charlottesville!” that was posted by Robert “Azzmador” Ray. Second-level analysis was done when the meaning of a posted message or image was less clear. In these cases, we examined individual posts

⁴ It is our understanding that Defendants have not retained all of their communications and thus our access to those communications appears to be limited.

within the sequence of posts that preceded and followed it on Discord. This generated sequences in which we could discern whether a post was responding to an earlier post, making a statement, or initiating a new series of posts. Such sequences allowed us to more precisely ascertain the meaning of individual posts. By examining Discord data across a fifteen-month period, we were able to discern trends in the sequences of posts and to avoid any distortions in meaning that might arise if we had focused exclusively on the period immediately prior to the 2017 UTR events. Thus, we are confident that our conclusions are based on the information we reviewed rather than our preconceptions.

2. The Concept of Culture Frames This Report

Culture is a central concept in the social sciences, and the organizing principle of this report. Social scientists define culture as the shared beliefs, values, language, understandings, practices and norms of behavior that create a sense of collective meaning and identity. Culture is generally studied by examining communications and the dynamics of interactions among individuals and groups.⁵

Culture operates on two levels: interpretive and behavioral. On the interpretive level, cultures transmit beliefs, norms, identities, and understandings over time and across generations through songs, stories, language, and symbols. Those immersed in a common culture tend to develop shared interpretations that inform their beliefs, values, and understandings. On the behavioral level, cultures establish a collective sense of approval for certain types of behavior. This type of approval is referred to as prescriptive, expressed in norms or guidelines that encourage specific behaviors while proscriptive norms discourage other behaviors. Thus, those immersed in a common culture tend to develop shared practices and a common understanding of collective norms of behavior. For this report, we describe interpretive and behavioral outcomes of culture separately, although in actuality these operate in intersecting and mutually reinforcing ways. Adopting the interpretive values and beliefs of a culture shapes how people behave. At the same time, aligning one's behavior to others in a group intensifies one's commitment to collective interpretations.

By creating shared interpretations and behaviors, cultures integrate. On the interpretative level, cultural practices of food, music, religion, and stories such as those found in Greek food festivals, Italian feast day processions, and St. Patrick's Day events not only celebrate the ethnic roots of Americans but also create shared meanings about what it means to be Greek-American, Italian-American, or Irish-American. On the behavioral level, cultural norms press toward behaviors that distinguish a group - for example, as respectable fans of a sports team, or practitioners of a particular religion - and that create a sense of solidarity and collective identity. Behaviors like wearing modest clothing, tailgating at a team's game, and displaying religious items bind individuals together. Cultures also create a sense of belonging. Expected behaviors, values and norms are expressed in "cultural scripts" whose meaning is accessible only to insiders.⁶ For example, collective cultural rituals - group practices that evoke strong emotions and often a sense of transcending ordinary existence,⁷ such as conversion ceremonies - regulate or pattern the thoughts, feelings, and behaviors of their participants in subsequent situations.⁸ Its integrative nature

⁵ See <https://www.asanet.org/topics/culture>. Newer work in the social sciences has shown that culture also is tied to neuro-physiological processes (Wexler 2006).

⁶ Goddard and Wierzbicka 2004.

⁷ Durkheim 1912.

⁸ Lizardo et al. 2016; Goffman 1974; Swidler 1986; Blee 2012; Latif et al. 2018.

allows a culture to evolve over time as persons connected to a particular culture repeatedly influence other individuals' ideas and decisions.

By creating shared interpretations and behaviors, cultures also divide. Cultures create boundaries between those in the group and those on the outside of the group. Such distinctions are often quite benign, as in the cultural identities that might emerge in groups of professional cooks or residents of Iowa who share a sense of themselves as a group different from, but not hostile to, those outside the group. However, some cultural distinctions are decidedly antagonistic, as when cultural identities denote insiders as superior or safe and outsiders as inferior or dangerous. Such antagonist distinctions can fuel violence and even genocide, as happened in Nazi Germany and, more recently, in the civil war in Rwanda. Cultural rituals, such as those of commemoration of historical victories or atrocities, can transmit intergroup hostility across generations and prolong or incite new conflicts, as witnessed in violent episodes of the late 20th century such as those in Northern Ireland, India, the former Yugoslavia, and Turkey.⁹

Although cultural norms of interpretation and behavior regulate voluntary action, they are not deterministic. People are not simply passively shaped by their culture, as evidenced by the fact that two people exposed to the exact same cultural norm may respond differently. At the same time, a strong collective consensus supportive of certain beliefs or action clearly increases the likelihood that these will occur. Culture thus produces tendencies for how individuals will think and act but does not guarantee that every individual will do so in an identical manner.

Two social science concepts explain the seeming-paradox that culture exerts a powerful force on individual interpretation and behavior at the same time that individuals within a culture respond differently. One is the concept of subculture. Although people in a nation have a general common culture as, for example, the American cultural value of individualism, there are multiple subcultures within the nation. Beliefs, norms, identities, practices, and understandings differ in the U.S. across its multiple subcultures, from very broad subcultures such as Southern, urban, evangelical, or Asian-American, to very specialized subcultures such as rugby fans, mothers of triplets, or country music singers.¹⁰ The second is the concept of the cultural tool kit.¹¹ Although people are highly influenced by cultural and subcultural norms and expectations, how any single individual will respond is analogous to how a carpenter chooses a tool to use for a specific job. That is, people selectively draw on the cultural and subcultural tools that are available to them to make decisions about how they will think and act, as well as to justify their interpretations and behavior. Depending on their location in multiple subcultures, people carry different cultural tool kits, for example, language and traditions, that they can use in any particular situation.

B. The White Supremacist Movement Exhibits a Set of Core Characteristics

The modern WSM in the United States is often described in terms of its four historical branches: the Ku Klux Klans (KKK or the Klan), Christian Identity sects, neo-Nazis, and white power skinheads. These branches have somewhat differing ideological emphases that reflect their roots in the historical KKK and U.S. neo-Nazism, but all embrace and have defended violence as a tactic to achieve a society in

⁹ Collins 2009; Horowitz, 2001; Ferguson and McAuley 2020.

¹⁰ Fine 2012.

¹¹ Swidler 1986.

which the white race is completely dominant. The KKK is the oldest, and historically the most influential, branch of the WSM with origins that date to the multiple terroristic gangs formed after the Civil War that inflicted violence on former slaves and their white allies in the post-Civil War South. The Klan is not a singular organization; in every era of its existence, multiple Klan groups vied for power and members. More recent Christian Identity (CI) sects trace their roots to nineteenth century British Israelism. CI radically reinterprets the Bible to assert that whites are the true “children of Israel” and thus God’s chosen people; that nonwhites are not fully human but were created outside the line of descent from Adam and are hence “mud people”; and that Jews are the literal descendants of Satan. A third branch, U.S. neo-Nazis, emerged from the American Nazi Party after World War II and emphasizes the racial purity ideology of Adolf Hitler. White power skinheads, the fourth branch, emerged in the U.S. during the 1980s as an outgrowth of British youth subcultures in the post-World War II era.¹²

There is considerable overlap and connections among the four branches of the WSM, so distinctions among them are often blurred and individuals may have simultaneous affiliations with different groups. Any single group may use symbols or rituals from across the different branches as, for instance, a KKK chapter or a neo-Nazi group that exploits both Christian symbols favored by the KKK and Nordic mythological symbols associated with Nazi beliefs. From the 1980s, there has been increasing overlap among the four branches of the WSM with the rise of umbrella groups, such as the Aryan Nations (AN) that sought to unify Klan members, white power skinheads, and others around Nazi ideologies, and intensely violent white supremacist paramilitary groups such as Atomwaffen.¹³ Periodic efforts to unify the WSM through umbrella groups have rarely been successful for long, so the WSM is coordinated primarily through a common culture that sustains a shared set of interpretations and norms of behavior.

1. The WSM is Characterized by a Racist Ideology Based on White Supremacism, Anti-Semitism and Hostility Toward Immigrants, Social Minorities, and Feminism

White supremacist¹⁴ culture shapes the ideological understandings of its members by circulating white supremacist ideas in the form of statements, memes, pictures, songs, humor, chants, documents, website links, historical references and other messaging modes through its communication venues and networks. Spreading across the WSM are its core racist beliefs - such as denying that the Holocaust of European Jews happened and asserting that individuals of African descent are culturally and/or genetically inferior to whites. WSM culture also provides a platform to spread and amplify racist commentaries on current issues such as crime or school integration and for discussion of strategies to achieve the WSM goal of a future in which nonwhites and others designated as enemies of the white race have been exterminated, expelled, separated from or fully subordinated to the white race.

WSM culture does not simply indoctrinate its participants with racist ideas and agendas. It builds on - and intensifies - the boundaries that all cultures create between insiders and outsiders. It shapes a sense of participants as cultural insiders who share a common knowledge and way of interpreting the world. Consistent with how group cultures work more broadly, WSM culture provides insiders with clues on how to interpret its messages and ways of speaking. Consistent with how group cultures work more

¹² Simi and Futrell 2010.

¹³ Barkun 1994; Aho 1990; Blee 2002; Simi and Futrell 2010; Dobratz and Shanks-Meile 2000; Ezekiel 1996.

¹⁴ We use the term “white supremacist” to describe a common core of racist beliefs; grievances expressed about nonwhite, Jews, immigrants, and others; and efforts to secure the supremacy of the white race.

broadly, these messages are only interpretable to insiders. The circulation and explanation of a multitude of a constantly evolving set of referents - words, themes, memes, images, symbols, and codes - signal and reinforce shared meanings among movement insiders.

Some referents that circulate through WSM culture are explicit, with a meaning that is clear to both movement insiders and the wider public. Swastikas, for example, are commonly used to refer to state-run genocide in Hitler's Nazi Germany. Many referents are less explicit, to ensure that the shared meanings of WSM culture are available to insiders but not understood in the same way by outsiders. An example is the use of "14" to reference the "14 words" of David Lane, a member of a white supremacist terrorist group, The Order, that was responsible for the 1984 murder of Denver talk show host Alan Berg and a \$3.6 million robbery of an armored car. Lane's "14 Words" ("We must secure the existence of our people and a future for White children") have penetrated widely throughout the WSM culture, initially through the circulation of Lane's writings and now by circulation through social media and other WSM communication venues.

2. The WSM is Characterized by a Radical Division Between Insiders and Outsiders

Lacking a central command structure, the WSM is organized through a deliberately created common culture that sustains a shared ideology of beliefs and goals grounded in an extreme differentiation between in-groups (whites/white supremacists) and out-groups (nonwhites/enemies) and an emphasis on violence. WSM culture is carried through multiple communication venues and networks that have varied over time and across locales. In the modern WSM, these include a vast array of white supremacist and related Internet websites and discussion forums, social media platforms, and podcasts, as well as in-person connections at white supremacist events, groups, and gatherings.

The culture of the WSM is fundamentally racist, a term used in social science to mean the general doctrine that one's own race is superior and often accompanied by intergroup hatred and discrimination. The specific racism of WSM culture is a mix of ideologies based on white superiority, nonwhite inferiority, anti-black racism, hatred of Jews (anti-Semitism),¹⁵ animus toward immigrants and nonwhite foreigners, and hostility to sexual/gender minorities and feminism.¹⁶

WSM culture is both consistent and dynamic. Its fundamental ideologies of racism and central focus on violence have remained consistent over time. But particular aspects of WSM racist ideologies continually evolve as those connected to the culture repeatedly influence each other's ideas through personal contacts and shared immersion in communication platforms. For example, anti-Semitism in the sectors of the WSM has evolved over time from more general stereotypes of Jews as greedy to, with the influence of Christian Identity, a sense of Jews as evil spawns of Satan.

3. The WSM is Highly Decentralized, Yet Coordinated

The WSM - now as in the past - is highly decentralized. The WSM is constituted by overlapping networks, groups, and associated individuals without an overarching organization, authority, board of directors or central command structure although some individual groups, such as KKKs or the National Socialist Movement, have leadership hierarchies. But its overall decentralization does not imply a lack of

¹⁵ <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199756384/obo-9780199756384-0162.xml>;
<http://sociology.iresearchnet.com/sociology-of-religion/anti-semitism/>.

¹⁶ Simi and Futrell 2010.

coordination. Even as the WSM is not a unified organization governed by a single centralized authority, certain individuals have particular influence within and across networks and groups. In this fashion, the WSM has intentionally adopted an organizational style in which much of its leadership emerges across individuals in different situations rather than, as in conventional organizations, being generally exercised in a top-down fashion across a hierarchy of formal positions. The deliberate creation of a WSM leadership structure that does not require official titles and in which different individuals emerge as leaders depending on circumstances makes it challenging for law enforcement to identify those who are directing violent actions by movement participants. But the movement's lack of an overall centralized command structure does not mean that the WSM is disorganized or incapable of having influence. Decentralized movements that lack clear-cut command structures can have a powerful influence on individual-level interpretation and behavior by exerting pressure through a common cultural framework.¹⁷ Indeed, studies of social networks show that decentralized networks can shape collective action by nurturing a pool of believers oriented toward shared objectives and a common means of accomplishing these objectives.¹⁸ The organizational structure of the WSM is decentralized, but the movement's culture is integrated with substantial agreement on core ideas and goals which allows the WSM to reinforce norms of violence and more general codes of conduct among its participants.

4. The WSM is Characterized by a High Degree of Internal Conflict

Despite broad agreement in the WSM about ideas and goals, the movement has historically been characterized by a high degree of internal friction and conflict. Internal conflicts within social movements are common, but they are especially prominent in the WSM. WSM leaders are typically self-proclaimed, often prompting internal struggles over who can rightfully claim the mantle of leadership. The decentralized organization of the WSM also provokes dissension among factions of the movement, even those with similar goals and ideologies, who may disavow each other or engage in intense struggle, and violence, against members of another group or network. Despite such cleavages, the common culture of the WSM binds leaders and members together in an understanding that all sectors will fight together in what white supremacists have long asserted is a coming race war, a vast near-apocalyptic clash between whites and nonwhites. These internal conflicts thus operate like the adage about family conflicts, that brothers may not see "eye to eye" but will still "fight side by side" when "push comes to shove."¹⁹ In contrast, the WSM is highly suspicious of outsiders, fueled by its history of episodes of covert surveillance and infiltration by informants and undercover agents and of members who inform law enforcement about movement activities.²⁰

5. The WSM Utilizes New Communication Technologies

The WSM was among the first social movements to take full advantage of the possibilities of the Internet as a communication and networking tool.²¹ New technologies of social media and Internet platforms allowed white supremacists a level of anonymity that facilitated their ability to recruit and communicate among members and interested individuals while evading detection.²² A new generation of

¹⁷ Johnston 2013.

¹⁸ Wasserman 1994.

¹⁹ Blee, DeMichele, Simi, and Latif 2017; Blee 2002; Simi and Futrell 2010.

²⁰ Cunningham 2004; Burkey, Ramsland and Hall 2008; Thompson 1982.

²¹ Foxman 2010.

²² Caren et al. 2012; see also Hoo, Goodman & Greenberg 1997.

some white supremacists and their groups have even used these communicative technologies to rebrand white supremacism as an acceptable form of politics by creating radically different strategic messaging to audiences of movement insiders, potential recruits, and the general public.

The use of computer technologies to create and sustain the WSM began as early as 1984 with the development of two electronic bulletin boards: the Liberty Bell, created by former Hitler Youth member George Dietz, and, shortly after, the Aryan Nations Liberty Net, led by decorated Vietnam War veteran Louis Beam who eventually became even more well known for his essay promoting a looser structure for the WSM and lone actor terrorism. The first message on the Aryan Nations Liberty Net underscores how Louis Beam and others in the WSM envisioned computer technology aiding their cause:

“Finally, we are all going to be linked together at one point in time... Imagine, if you will, all the great minds of the patriotic Christian movement linked together and joined into one computer. Imagine any patriot in the country being able to call up and access these minds... You are online with the Aryan Nations brain trust. It is here to serve the folk.”²³

Liberty Bell and Liberty Net were followed less than a year later by white supremacist leader Tom Metzger’s White Aryan Resistance (WAR) announcement of the development of their “WAR Computer Terminal” which ran on a Commodore-64. A decade after that, in 1995, Don Black’s Stormfront became the first major white supremacist website and communication tool; by the late 1990’s, thousands of white supremacist websites could be found across the World Wide Web. While the types of technology available have certainly changed, the proclivity among white supremacists to use this technology to enhance their effectiveness is nothing new.²⁴

6. The WSM Utilizes Double-Speak

In addition to coded words and symbols, the WSM circulates and relies upon an insider mode of communicating that we term “double-speak” - language intended to deceive and to convey multiple meanings. Double-speak is a method of conveying white supremacist beliefs and intentions to those within the WSM culture while sending an innocuous meaning to outsiders. It is a communication style that relies on deception and often the use of euphemistic words designed to sidestep a more candid mention of a harsh or distasteful reality. It relies on the audience’s ability to interpret the meaning of a message in multiple ways, drawing on both their cognitive abilities and the understandings that are specific to the culture and subcultures in which they are embedded.²⁵

Double-speak is a strategy intended to simultaneously reveal and conceal meaning embedded in words and to create plausible deniability for ideas or actions that would attract legal or social sanctions. An example is the circulation of images that refer to pre-Christian Nordic religions, such as Thor’s hammer, that are intended to signal an innocuous reference to ancient spiritual traditions to outsiders. Cultural insiders, however, will recognize such images as associated with sectors of white supremacism that adopt traditions of ancient Aryan spirituality.²⁶ Another example is Pepe, an anthropomorphic green frog meme. Within modern WSM culture, there is considerable evidence from messages exchanged on

²³ Berlet 2001: p.4.

²⁴ Berlet 2001.

²⁵ Goffman 1974.

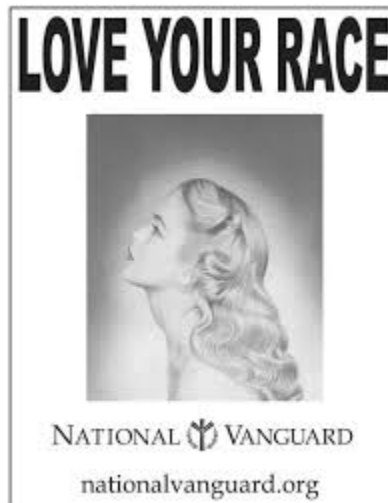
²⁶ Gardell 2003.

white supremacist communication forums that the image of Pepe is exploited repeatedly to signify the ideas of racism and anti-Semitism; outside of white supremacism, Pepe lacks those connotations.



<https://www.adl.org/education/references/hate-symbols/pepe-the-frog>

The “Love Your Race” campaign initiated in the early 2000’s by the neo-Nazi group, the National Alliance, is another example of double-speak. To its affiliates and members - as well as to potential recruits and enemies - “Love Your Race” was meant to be understood as a call for whites to stand up for their race against supposed threats by nonwhites. To outsiders, it was meant to signal simply love of one’s race, a common WSM defense against charges of racism.²⁷



The image of the vulnerable white woman frequently appeared on “Love Your Race” campaign materials.²⁸

The WSM strategy of double-speak goes beyond the use of expressions or symbols with multiple meanings. It operates on a broader level to create deception about the ideological and strategic direction of WSM groups and networks. An example is the recent WSM effort at rebranding that draws on its culture of double-speak in which thinly-veiled messages are meant to be read differently by separate audiences. Rebranding emerged in the current generation of white supremacists who built from the historical branches of the U.S. WSM to create their own organizations and networks that infused the ideologies of earlier white supremacism with new emphases. Although presenting themselves to outsiders as a new political movement, in our opinion, they are simply a contemporary version of a long-standing history of white supremacism in this country. Thus, we assess their organizational names, such

²⁷ Baker 2016; Vysotsky and Madfis 2016.

²⁸ Cooter 2006.

as Identity Evropa (IE, now known as the American Identity Movement) and Patriot Front, as an organizational version of double-speak in which organizations are intentionally and strategically branded to appear to outsiders as fundamentally different from traditional white supremacist organizations to reduce stigma and appeal to mainstream populations. This strategy is evident in groups like IE that have sought to recruit college students with images of members in business suits and in the National Socialist Movement (NSM)'s decision to ban the public display of swastikas.²⁹ Other white supremacist groups have also adopted this strategy by using relatively innocuous labels such as "patriot," "ethno-nationalist," and "alt-right" to blur the difference between white supremacism and mainstream conservative beliefs or ethnic pride to outsiders.³⁰ To insiders, these groups display more traditional white supremacism.

In our opinion, the WSM strategy of rebranding has been a cosmetic overhaul - a double-speak - not an actual new approach to racial politics or a lessening in the extent of their racial extremism. Rebranding attempted to conceal from outsiders the WSM's continuing promotion - largely in cultural arenas and events restricted to insiders - of the racial and religious hatred associated with earlier white supremacist groups. It tried to hide these groups' continuing association with persons, symbols, and rituals of neo-Nazism and the KKK.³¹ And it helped to conceal the WSM's advocacy of violence.

7. The WSM Focuses on Optics and Utilizes Front-Stage and Back-Stage Behavior

The WSM has historically emphasized the distinction between what behavior and messages should be displayed in public and what should be displayed in private. The social theorist Erving Goffman describes this as the distinction between "front-stage" and "back-stage" behavior: people present themselves differently when they are seeking to make an impression on others than they do in private.³²

In our opinion, maintaining the separation between the front-stage and the back-stage is an essential feature of how the WSM works. White supremacist groups and platforms consistently operate to keep internal discussions and operations secret, restricted to back-stage places and to insiders and heavily guarded from outsiders. At the same time, they cultivate particular images to project to the public by monitoring the actions and messages that appear in front stage places that include outsiders. In recent years, discussions within the WSM have described its strategy of projecting a nonviolent and mainstream public image as "optics." Robert Bowers, who contributed anti-Semitic posts on Gab, a social media platform frequented by white supremacists, added a final post before he allegedly entered a Pittsburgh synagogue to massacre 11 worshippers: "Screw your optics, I'm going in."³³

The WSM has implemented an optics strategy that pushes adherents to infiltrate mainstream society by selectively limiting overt displays of their allegiance to white supremacism. This strategy is parallel to the organizational rebranding strategy described above but, consistent with how group cultures work, is promoted and adopted by individuals. Starting in the 1990s, white supremacists were taught to live double lives: cover their racist tattoos, grow out their hair to avoid being identified as racist "skinheads," hide extremist insignia, and outwardly project an image of non-extremism, especially to

²⁹ Simi and Futrell 2020.

³⁰ Berbrier 2000; Mudde 2017.

³¹ Futrell and Simi 2017.

³² Goffman 1959.

³³ McIlroy-Young and Anderson 2019.

evade detection by law enforcement.³⁴ WSM leaders promoted this approach as a means for white supremacists to secure positions of influence across a broad spectrum of society. In particular, the FBI has watched white supremacists quietly maintain an active presence in police departments and other law enforcement and military agencies. Infiltrating these institutions is strategic for the WSM because they provide tactical and weapons training that is useful in the violent furtherance of white supremacy. Other white supremacists nurture their hatred in seemingly benign, everyday settings such as family homes and Bible study groups where they create “free spaces” through music concerts, parties, outdoor events, and residential communities,³⁵ and through the use of on-line and social media platforms in which they can share and develop their ideas among like-minded persons.³⁶ For instance, in 2004, the neo-Nazi music label Panzerfaust (German Bazooka) attempted to distribute 100,000 CDs with hate-based music to teenagers, an effort they dubbed “Project Schoolyard USA.”³⁷

8. The WSM is Characterized by the Use of Violence

Violence has been a core feature of the WSM across its history, targeted at Jews, people of color, LGBTQ persons, employees of the federal government, police officers, those suspected of being informants or white “race traitors,”³⁸ and members of vulnerable groups such as homeless persons. Violence is also integral to the internal life of some sectors of the WSM in which group bonds are formed in violent initiation rites and violent infighting among members. White supremacist culture is distinct from many other cultures in the omnipresence of violence associated with its ideologies, rituals, and messages.

The scale of violence enacted by white supremacists in the U.S. over the past century and a half is enormous. The loose confederation of paramilitary organizations that constituted the first KKK executed a vast terroristic guerilla war across the southern states between 1866 and the 1870s and was responsible for thousands of targeted murders of political opponents.³⁹ To note one example, in the months leading up to the 1868 presidential election, the white supremacist groups of the KKK assassinated nearly 2,000 potential Republican voters in Kansas and Georgia and murdered 1,000 individuals associated with Reconstruction efforts to enfranchise freed blacks in Louisiana.⁴⁰ Later Klans of the 1950s and 1960s fought against civil rights laws through vicious campaigns of bombing and assassinations, including plotting the infamous murder of three civil rights workers in Philadelphia, Mississippi.⁴¹ The contemporary WSM has continued this legacy of violence. Individuals tied to white supremacist groups and networks have been responsible for acts of violence and terrorism that range from street assaults on African Americans to coordinated violent actions on Vietnamese fishermen, Jewish and Muslim places of worship, and acts of domestic terrorism including the 1995 bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City and mass shootings in Charleston, Pittsburgh, Poway, El Paso, and other locations. Each era of the

³⁴ Cooter 2006; Vysotsky and Madfis 2016; Simi and Futrell 2009.

³⁵ Blee 2002; Simi and Futrell 2010.

³⁶ Futrell and Simi 2004.

³⁷ http://news.minnesota.publicradio.org/features/2004/09/29_horwichj_panzerfaust/.

³⁸ “Race traitor” is a term generally used for whites who oppose, betray, or fail to join the cause of white supremacy, and who, in the perspective of white supremacists, have fallen victim to anti-white brainwashing.

³⁹ Parsons 2015; Trelease 1971.

⁴⁰ Trelease 1971.

⁴¹ Cunningham 2013.

WSM has looked different in terms of its groups, leaders, styles, and tactics, but each has utilized violence to fight for a white supremacist society.

The WSM has combined violence with efforts to mainstream as overlapping strategies since the early twentieth century. In the 1920s, for example, KKK groups adopted a mainstreaming strategy by running candidates for electoral office in multiple states and cities and asserting that they were no more than a club for white people; at the same time, they adopted violent strategies to terrorize and expel Jews, Catholics, and African Americans from their communities and jobs.⁴² In the 1950s and 1960s, Klans and White Citizen Councils in southern states sought to simultaneously project an image of themselves as stalwart white citizens even as they organized violence against those who challenged white dominance and racial segregation.⁴³ A more recent example of this approach is the repeated efforts of David Duke, a major figure in the Klan and neo-Nazi circles and a former Louisiana State Representative, to present himself as a mainstream advocate of white rights despite his overt racist and anti-Semitic views. Duke was allegedly involved in the plot by white supremacist and webmaster of the racist and anti-Semitic Internet forum Stormfront Don Black to take over the Caribbean island of Dominica to establish a beachhead for white supremacists.⁴⁴

a. The WSM Promotes Three Key Ideas That Trigger Racial Violence

All branches of the modern WSM embrace and defend violence as a tactic to achieve various types of movement goals, from settling internal movement disputes to furthering the agenda of white supremacy. In WSM culture, violence is often framed as necessary self-defense to save white womanhood, the white race, or the white nation or, in the case of CI, to save their particular, racist form of Christianity. The WSM has a broad conception of who it regards as aggressors against whom they need to practice self-defense, from what adherents to CI term “mud people” (nonwhites) and satanic Jews, to a more general enemy category that includes all those poised to destroy the white race by failing to support the white supremacist agenda of racial hatred and violence.

Core to the WSM’s culture of violence are a set of key ideas about both the superiority of the white race and the inferiority of all those they deem as nonwhite, including Jews, who are considered more powerful but still racially inferior to white people. Within the WSM, there is some variation in whether white racial superiority is due to the dominance of white biological/genetic factors or the preeminence of white culture compared to those of other racial groups. But there is a deep emphasis on the rightful dominance of whites in society: whites are viewed as the appropriate rulers of societies because of the superior characteristics of their race.⁴⁵ Moreover, the WSM declares white rule as imperative because rule by nonwhites will lead to social collapse, citing as evidence incidents from distant and recent history, such as the purported chaos of Reconstruction-era politics in the post-Civil War southern states when former slaves exerted political influence, or the supposed atrocities committed against white farmers in southern African states after the shift to black majority rule. In contrast, the WSM glorifies periods of strong white rule, such as Hitler’s command of Germany and its conquered territories.

⁴² Blee 1991.

⁴³ Cunningham 2013.

⁴⁴ Turque 1991.

⁴⁵ Ferber 1997.

Although the WSM holds that whites are inherently superior to nonwhites, it does not trust all whites to act on behalf of their race. In particular, those that the WSM terms white “race traitors” - whites who have fallen victim to anti-white “brainwashing” and support multicultural agendas that ultimately lead to “white genocide” - need to be liberated from their mistaken ideas by offering the WSM’s special insight into racial conditions. In some or even many cases, intellectual liberation is not possible and white “race traitors” are warned that they will also be dealt with through the use of violence. The WSM asserts that a “mass cleansing” may be necessary at some point, a scenario widely termed the “Day of the Rope” after a passage in *The Turner Diaries*, one of the most cited works in the WSM, in which a large number of white race traitors are murdered to establish a society in which the majority of whites adhere to the movement’s beliefs and goals.

In our opinion, three key ideas in WSM culture function as triggers and, in their minds, justifications, of violence: the white race is threatened; Jews, nonwhites, and others are the source of these threats; and the danger to the white race is imminent.

i. The White Race is Threatened

The WSM frames issues provocatively to command attention, describing the white population of the nation or even the entire world as facing catastrophe. The nature of the purported catastrophic crises varies, from economic or environmental collapse, spiking crime rates, control of the federal government by nonwhites, the rise of multiculturalism, immigrant “invasion,” and the prospect of a minority-majority population (“white race suicide”) to a collapse of conventional moral standards. But, in every case, whites are said to face the very real possibility of a future in which the security and favorable positions of their ancestors will be replaced by lives of desperation, fear, and powerlessness.

In the decentralized WSM culture of violence, publications, physical gatherings, private communications, speeches, internet sites, white power music and literature, and social media postings cumulatively build a pool of believers determined to act in accord with the ideology and tactics of white supremacism. Portrayals of the white race as endangered are intended to stimulate a shared objective: a sense of personal responsibility and efficacy to defend the white race from extinction.⁴⁶

The Turner Diaries is an example of how threats to the white race are presented. The novel depicts a future United States in which the price of gasoline spikes and leads to a collapse in the standard of living and gangs of nonwhites invade the homes of white families to arrest the occupants and seize their firearms. *Camp of the Saints*, a novel by the French author Jean Raspail that was translated into English in 1975, is another popular work in the WSM with its apocalyptic description of a flood of starving nonwhite monsters who invade the West to violently steal the property and rights of whites; this novel also points to what it posits as the threat of higher birth rates among nonwhites, an early rendering of what modern white supremacists decry as the “replacement” of the white population by nonwhites.⁴⁷ Such provocative messages use the technique of “moral shock,” a particularly effective strategy for presenting highly inflammatory information to evoke emotional reactions of outrage, anger, frustration, and indignation and encourage action in response.⁴⁸ Crises are depicted in racial terms, with whites as

⁴⁶ Blee 2016; Blee et al 2017; Simi et al. 2017; Windisch et al 2018.

⁴⁷ Bracke 2020.

⁴⁸ Jasper 2011.

innocent victims on the brink of destruction at the hands of hostile nonwhites who foster and will benefit from social chaos and destruction.

ii. Jews, Nonwhites, “Commies,” and Other Enemies Threaten the White Race

The WSM asserts that the current U.S. society is anti-white.⁴⁹ As the WSM is highly conspiratorial, there is a strong element of fantastical thinking in its description of the forces that are said to be arrayed against the white race, which can include general references to an anti-white New World Order and Jewish conspiracies to bring immigrants to the U.S. in numbers sufficient to overwhelm the native-born white population. But the WSM also spends substantial effort in identifying what it regards as the concrete embodiments of anti-white forces. From the WSM’s perspective, these forces are identified in explicitly racial and hierarchical terms, drawing upon the underlying principle of the WSM that the white race is superior to nonwhite races and, therefore, has the right to govern societies.

Nonwhites - both those who are recent immigrants from the countries of Central and South America, Africa, and, to a lesser extent, Asia as well as long-time citizens - are identified as a major threat, as they are said to be ushering in “white genocide.” Nonwhite immigrants are depicted as destroying the communities of vulnerable white Americans through criminal actions (a claim often accompanied by inaccurate statistics) and having high birth rates and rates of intermarriage with whites that the WSM warns will ensure the demographic extinction of the white race.⁵⁰

Jews are also commonly identified by the WSM as a major source of threat to the white race. The WSM considers Jews both nonwhite and fundamentally anti-white. According to the WSM movement, a small Jewish elite, supported by the Jewish population more broadly, is literally orchestrating plans for a genocide of the white race which they are able to accomplish because of their supposed dominance of the world’s leading economic, legal, cultural, and political positions as well the U.S. federal government. The WSM regards Jews as part of an international cabal that seeks the annihilation of whites to secure their power, and they view all Jews as likely to be part of this anti-white conspiracy. Thus, in its constant effort to identify specific Jewish people and groups who are threatening the white race, the WSM labels journalists and others who they regard as likely to be Jews as dangerous to the future of the white race. Segments of the WSM promote the idea that a small cabal of Jews is working in concert with international entities like the United Nations to usurp all forms of national sovereignty. In this scenario, the WSM believes that the Federal Emergency Management Agency’s camps for the victims of natural disasters will eventually be turned into concentration camps where whites will be housed to ensure the eradication of the white race.⁵¹

So-called communists or “commies” - a very loose term in the WSM that generally includes multiculturalists, leftists, Jews, and their allies in government and society - are also identified by the WSM as a threat to the white race because of their efforts to increase social equality, including ending racial disparities. Antifa, a left-oriented anarchist network that has reportedly been involved in

⁴⁹ Berbrier 2000.

⁵⁰ Berbrier 1998.

⁵¹ Blee 2002; Darby 2019; Jackson, S. “Conspiracy theories in the patriot/militia movement.” *GW Program on Extremism*, May. [https://cchs.gwu.edu/sites/cchs.gwu.edu/files/downloads/Jackson% 2C% 20Conspiracy% 20Theories% 20Final. pdf](https://cchs.gwu.edu/sites/cchs.gwu.edu/files/downloads/Jackson%20C%20Conspiracy%20Theories%20Final.pdf) (2017); Bartlett, Jamie, and Carl Miller. *The power of unreason: Conspiracy theories, extremism and counter-terrorism*. London: Demos, 2010.

confrontational clashes with WSM participants, is used as an example of communist activism on behalf of anti-white agendas.⁵²

iii. The Destruction of the White Race is Imminent

Not only does the WSM describe entire social groups - nonwhites, Jews, “commies,” others - as threats to the white race, but it describes the threat posed by these groups in fear-inducing terms, as imminent and urgent. In WSM messages such as “white genocide,” whites are described as being in immediate mortal danger from their racial enemies. Another example is the frequent WSM messaging about a “race war” - variously described as imminent or already underway in the United States - that pits whites against nonwhites in a battle to the death of one group. The prediction of a race war is based on a white supremacist belief that the “natural order” of society positions racial groups against each other in a competition over scarce resources and power. The ultimate culmination of this racial competition is a large-scale, full-blown war between whites and nonwhites, perhaps secretly directed by an elite cabal of Jews to destroy the white race.

The idea of a “race war” is widespread in WSM culture and propaganda in the form of ideological tracts, literature, and music. *The Turner Diaries* depicts an eventual race war and influenced countless acts of violence including the Oklahoma City bombing and the crime spree of the underground terror cell The Order. The idea of a race war was also popularized by Ben Klassen’s book *RaHoWa: The Planet is Our Ours*. Klassen, a millionaire inventor who founded the white supremacist pseudo-religion The Church of the Creator, advocated a specific version of the race war that he dubbed Racial Holy War (RaHoWa). The idea of a race war also figures prominently in white supremacist culture through white power music, with both band names and song lyrics referencing a future race war or suggesting that a low-level race war is already underway. In either case, the WSM suggests, there is such strong animosity and differing interests among unique racial groups that a full-scale race war is simply awaiting an appropriate catalyst. Holding public confrontational rallies is understood within the WSM as providing an opportunity to provoke (or “trigger”) their racial enemies in the hope of igniting a large-scale racial conflict and the societal chaos that will spread across the U.S. to the advantage of white supremacists who are positioned to seize control.⁵³ This is a strategy that scholars now describe as “accelerating.”⁵⁴ Public rallies that evoke racial skirmishes, or chants that refer to the feared forcible “replacement” of the white race, foreshadow the larger and inevitable race war that the WSM movement has been predicting and provoking.⁵⁵

These are only a few examples of the many imminent threats to whites that circulate in white supremacist culture. Each of the purported threats, in varying degrees, evokes a sense of mortality that can generate acts of violence in response to that feeling. The cumulative effect of describing urgent, extreme threats to the existence of the white race and identifying nonwhites, Jews, communists and others as culprits in the impending demise of the white race offers a rationale for how violent action on behalf of white supremacist goals can seem to those immersed in WSM culture as defensive, reasonable, and required. Messages of severe, imminent threat can erode the cognitive and emotional controls that generally inhibit people from acts of violence so that violence appears to be a rational, responsible, and

⁵² Froelich deposition, p. 68.

⁵³ Byman 2020.

⁵⁴ Byman 2020.

⁵⁵ Department of Homeland Security 2019; Soufan Center 2019.

effective strategic action of self-protection against an anonymous mass of immediately threatening and provocative racial antagonists.⁵⁶ In the culture of the WSM, violence becomes an inevitable and even desirable tool to retain white racial dominance and defend one's race against racial competitors.

Moreover, the vague nature of the ideas that circulate throughout WSM culture has an additional incendiary effect that provokes participants toward racial violence. Although there are clear messages that the white race is threatened, the nature of the threat is purposely imprecise. For example, the suggestion of a plot to replace whites, encapsulated in slogans such as "You Will Not Replace Us" (YWNRU), which appeared in early 2017, for example, in a banner unfurled at a rally in North Carolina in May 2017,⁵⁷ builds anxieties that the position of whites is being eroded by migration, birth rates, employment policies, civil rights, or other undefined plots against the white race. In addition, the strikingly amorphous definition of the core antagonists of the white race - "Jews," "communists," "mud people," "leftists," "race traitors," and "Antifa" - means that individuals from these groups are not easily identifiable. To be clear, it is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether a person is a Jew, a communist, a "mud" person, a leftist, a race traitor, or a member of Antifa simply by looking at them. Lumping people together in such figurative categories prevents knowing if any given person might be part of the plot to destroy the white race. Even the idea that the destruction of the white race is imminent is vaguely inexact. In our research, we have found adherents to white supremacy who believed that the race war is currently underway, those who believed that it is just around the corner, and those who believed that it is coming in some indefinite future time.

In our opinion, the messages communicated by WSM culture - that there is a threat to whites, that specific groups are working to eradicate the white race, and that whites face imminent destruction - has the effect of priming participants to commit racially-motivated violence as a means of what the participants deem to be self-defense. These messages suggest that threats to whites are everywhere. Anyone might be an enemy and anyone might be poised to attack immediately. In this respect, counter-protesters at white supremacist events - including those who are unarmed and nonviolent - can be easily misunderstood by those eager to defend the white race as violent antagonists. Although erroneous, in our view, it is not surprising that white supremacists can regard their attacks on any counter-protestor as a justifiable self-defense.

b. The WSM Glorifies Violence

WSM culture also sets norms of behavior through the glorification of violence, which is part of a general emphasis on the power of organized white supremacy to vanquish the enemies of the white race and ensure white dominion.⁵⁸ One way this happens is by the valorization of those who commit violence. Individuals who have extensive histories of violence, especially racially-motivated violence, but also other acts of violence, are not only regarded as members and participants across the WSM, but often are seen as inspirational leaders. An example is David Lane, whose "14 Words" and his other racist propaganda positioned him as a leader in the WSM even while he was serving a 190-year prison sentence.

⁵⁶ Correll, Umland, and Ito 2006; Windisch et al 2018.

⁵⁷ <https://www.marinecorpstimes.com/news/your-marine-corps/2017/05/30/marines-arrested-at-pro-confederate-rally-with-white-nationalist-regalia/>.

⁵⁸ Blee 2005; Parsons 2015.

The valorization of violent individuals in WSM culture is evident also as those killed or imprisoned for perpetrating acts of violence on behalf of white supremacy are heralded as “martyrs” and “prisoners of war.”⁵⁹ A recent example is Dylann Roof, who killed nine parishioners in an African American church in 2015 Charleston, North Carolina, and is celebrated broadly across WSM culture by use of the term “bowlcuts” and memes of his bowl-shaped haircut.

c. The WSM Normalizes Violence

The WSM explicitly and impliedly endorses and normalizes violence through 1) constant and pervasive messaging; 2) repertoires of violence; and 3) ritualistic displays of white power.

i. Constant and Pervasive Violent Messaging

The WSM culture makes frequent, and positive, references to episodes of the most vicious racist violence. Often such violent references are quite explicit, as in direct descriptions or images of lynchings of African Americans or particularly heinous racist hate crimes such as the 1998 murder of James Byrd, an African American man, by white supremacists who chained and dragged him to his death behind a pick-up truck. But they also include referents that are interpretable as signals of violence by those within WSM culture, such as phrases like “race war” and “white genocide” and images of ovens to signal the concentration camps of the WWII Holocaust of European Jews, nooses or burning crosses to refer to the lynching of Blacks and other racial minorities in the nineteenth and early twentieth century U.S., and flaming torches to reference white mob violence or European fascist marches.⁶⁰

The WSM culture signals the acceptability of violence through the use of dehumanizing language and images, such as describing immigrants as “vermin” and depicting nonwhites as apes. Dehumanizing language is a consistent theme identified in white supremacist propaganda,⁶¹ as well as consistently present and prominent in the escalation of conflicts that eventually result in mass atrocities such as those in Rwanda and Central America and, earlier, in the European Holocaust.⁶² Desensitization to the possibility of committing violence takes place in a variety of forms, including music, books, propaganda, and paramilitary training. An example is “ZOG’s Nightmare,” a videogame created by the WSM production company “Resistance Records,” the title of which refers to an anti-Jewish slur “Zionist Occupation Government.” In this game, players assume a first-person shooter role with the objective of killing nonwhites.⁶³

⁵⁹ Blee 2002; Blazak 2009.

⁶⁰ Blee 1991; Cunningham 2013; Gordon 2017.

⁶¹ Angie et al. 2011.

⁶² Moshman 2007.

⁶³ Simi and Futrell 2020.



Violent talk in the WSM often takes the form of parallel messaging in front and back stages. Messages intended for an internal audience indicate support of violence. Messages intended for outsiders, however, may not signal support for violence in ways that are easily interpreted as such. Messages to outsiders tend to present a highly cultivated image of the WSM that insists it is advocating white rights, rather than racial supremacy, and supports only legal and nonviolent actions. The sharp division between what the WSM allows to be expressed in front-stage and back-stage arenas can cause members and affiliates to experience negative cognitive and emotional outcomes such as anxiety, depression, and anger about hiding their core beliefs and feelings⁶⁴ and, in order to cope, some “leak” their beliefs and feelings partially or completely into the front stage.⁶⁵

While the front-stage/back-stage separation allows different messages to be sent to insider and outsider audiences, the tactic of double-speak involves sending a message that will be understood differently by those well-versed in WSM culture and those who are not. Thus, members of the WSM embed in outsider-directed messages subtle codes meant to reassure hardcore supporters that the WSM has not actually renounced extremism and the use of violence. An example is the number “88,” a very common reference in the WSM that means “Heil Hitler.” Those unfamiliar with the cultural symbols of the WSM could conclude that this is a preferred number ostensibly connected to an athlete or some other reference. Those within WSM culture will recognize the number as a code related to the Nazi Germany slogan. Other examples include 18 for “Adolf Hitler” whose name begins with the 1st and 8th letter of the alphabet; ZOG (Zionist Occupation Government), a referent to supposed Jewish conspiratorial control of the U.S. federal government; and RAHOWA.

White power music provides a gateway into WSM culture, especially for younger people,⁶⁶ and is a conveyer of white supremacist ideas, including the role of violence in the movement. White power

⁶⁴ Simi and Futrell 2009.

⁶⁵ Meloy and O’Toole 2011.

⁶⁶ Futrell, Simi, and Gottschalk 2006.

music concerts are a venue for white supremacist recruiting and violence, while white power music encapsulates ideas of racial hatred and race-based violence in its lyrics. An example is “Victory Day,” sung by Prussian Blue, the name of a duo of two teenage Nazi singers who took their name from the blue residue left over by the use of the poison Zyklon B used to kill Jews and others in World War II-era concentration camps. The girls were popular in white supremacist circles, likely because they appeared to embody the perfect example of an innocent white womanhood that was threatened by the ascendancy of anti-white forces. Prussian Blue’s lyrics include a response to the threat, in the form of an ode to the coming race war:

Well sit down and listen, to what I have to say. There soon will come a great war, a bloody but holy day. And after that purging, our people will be free, and sing up in the bright skies, a sun for all to see.⁶⁷



Twin sisters Lamb and Lynx Gaede of the now-defunct Prussian Blue music group.⁶⁸

ii. Repertoires of Violence

A social movement’s culture is central to shaping what its participants regard as acceptable repertoires of action. A “repertoire of action” is a sociological term that describes a social movement’s pattern of behavior, including its strategies and tactics.⁶⁹ Social movements that employ violence, including those labeled as “terrorist” movements, develop repertoires of action that include internal

⁶⁷ <https://www.metrolyrics.com/victory-day-lyrics-prussian-blue.html>.

⁶⁸ <https://www.gq.com/story/prussia-blue-hitler>.

⁶⁹ Tilly 1995.

understandings about how and when to use violence, and what types of violence are favored or permissible. Acts of violence intended to further the agenda of white supremacy are a “repertoire of action” generated by the WSM culture. Maintaining violence as an option is also a form of terrorism, inflicting the fear of harm on target populations. In our opinion, the contemporary WSM culture generates two repertoires of violent action: coordinated violence and WSM-supported violence by individuals.

a) Coordinated Violence

The first repertoire is coordinated violence, such as attacks by KKK members on African Americans in the mid-twentieth century or the armed robberies, bombings, and murders attributed to The Order, a white supremacist underground terror cell active in the 1980s. Many acts of coordinated white supremacist violence are undertaken without direction from a central command structure. Instead, such violence emerges and is coordinated through a decentralized culture in which participants reward acts of racist violence with additional access to or respect within networks or groups of white supremacists. Cultural coordination of violence is often camouflaged, however, and mistakenly appears to be the spontaneous acts of unconnected individuals, such as the brutal attacks by white power skinheads in the 1980s, 1990s, and 2000s.

b) WSM-Supported Violence by Individuals

A second violent repertoire is violence by individuals who are supported by WSM culture but appear to have no connection to white supremacist groups and networks except through participation on Internet sites or social media platforms with white supremacist content. This repertoire has been promoted by the WSM over the past four decades to reduce the ability of law enforcement to infiltrate the movement, a strategy codified as “leaderless resistance” by Louis Beam, a Klan member associated with the Aryan Nations, who envisioned a model in which white supremacists operate as small or solo covert cells without reporting to a central group or leader.

It is largely a myth, however, that the WSM actually operates without vertical connections (i.e., that it actually practices “leaderless resistance”) or that solo operators commit acts of racial violence without provocation or direction from a larger white supremacist movement. Indeed, this idea is advanced by white supremacists themselves to divert law enforcement attention from their involvement in racial violence. But the reality is quite different. Timothy McVeigh, whose bombing of the Oklahoma City federal building in 1995 left 168 Americans dead, was connected to networks of white supremacist groups and took inspiration for the bombing from the white supremacist book, *The Turner Diaries*.⁷⁰ James von Brunn, who killed a security guard at the U.S. Holocaust Museum in Washington, D.C. in 2009, acted alone but was inspired by reading Nazi ideology and produced his own anti-Semitic propaganda. Robert Bowers, arrested as the 2018 Pittsburgh synagogue shooter, frequented Gab, a social network discussion platform popular among neo-Nazis and other white supremacists.

Despite its decentralized nature, the WSM is sufficiently organized and networked to influence individuals and small groups to act alone to advance the movement’s strategies and goals, including violence.⁷¹ The individuals who act violently on behalf of white supremacist agendas are supported and

⁷⁰ Simi and Futrell 2010.

⁷¹ Adams and Roscigno 2005.

prompted by a WSM culture of violence - the propaganda, internet and social media sites and groups that teach racist ideologies and provide a platform for connections and discussions among committed and unaffiliated white supremacists regarding the need for action. They are guided by the knowledge, strategies, and even techniques of violence that they find in white supremacist messages and through exchanges among like-minded people. White supremacist messages spread the idea that those who act on behalf of the white race are not alone but are part of a larger racial project with a multitude of covert sympathizers. An example is the WSM exhortation of “5 Words,” signaling the only words its affiliates should ever say to the police: “I have nothing to say.” WSM culture provides a literal and figurative library that allows individuals to draw inspiration and influence from previous white supremacist campaigns, slogans, and terror attacks,⁷² as Timothy McVeigh modeled the Oklahoma City bombing after a nearly identical scene described in the previously mentioned book *The Turner Diaries* or as Atomwaffen modeled the organization of its terror cell after James Mason’s book *Siege*. Too, the manifestos that violent white supremacists generated preceding their terror attacks in Christchurch, New Zealand, and El Paso, Texas, refer to inspiration from previous attacks.

iii. Ritualistic Displays of White Power

The WSM has historically engaged in ritualistic displays of white power that serve to normalize violence. These displays of power typically exhibit a set of characteristics that heighten collective anger and fear, such as multiple physical skirmishes and verbal confrontations with bystanders or counter-protestors; loud, angry collective chanting that reference perceived enemies, especially in a dehumanizing fashion; and displays of weapons. Such displays can exhibit complicated dynamics between white supremacists and counter-protestors, including a pattern identified by scholars of political confrontations: deliberately provoking counter-protestors in order to open the door for a major violent response that can later be argued to have been a defensive measure,⁷³ as in the clash at the 2016 neo-Nazi rally in Sacramento, California. Such displays also are likely to involve emotionally-triggering images and actions, including participants marching in stylized formations that evoke images of German Nazi parades or use of burning crosses or fiery torches that reference both the Ku Klux Klan and European fascism.⁷⁴

Fire is often central to these rituals. Fiery torches became emblematic of the first KKK groups after the Civil War, simultaneously intended to announce the Klan’s strength and strike terror in African Americans.⁷⁵ This use of fire to signal power and to inflict fear has appeared in other white supremacist and ethno-fascist movements, including the Nazis in WWII-era Germany who carried burning torches at rallies and parades and the Klans throughout the twentieth century that used cross lightings to initiate recruits, create solidarity among members, and terrorize Jews, African Americans, and other minorities.⁷⁶

Like many cultural symbols, fire has multiple meanings in the WSM and other extremist movements. It can represent purification and renewal, while also signaling intimidation and violence. It can also signal a warning or a call to arms. It is our opinion that the WSM has historically relied on these double meanings of fire, concealing its use of fire as a means of racial terror by claiming that its use is simply meant to celebrate white heritage or as some type of beautiful aesthetic. WSM groups present fire

⁷² Snow, Owens, and Tan 2014.

⁷³ Wahlström 2011.

⁷⁴ Aho 1994; Collins 2009; Horowitz 2001.

⁷⁵ Parsons 2015.

⁷⁶ Blee 1991; Blee and McDowell 2013.

as a cultural ritual that harkens back to ancient northern European practices, while privately fire is understood by those in WSM culture as a means of racial intimidation and violence, used to torture and char the bodies of the victims of lynchings in the nineteenth and early twentieth century U.S. and to burn churches and other places associated with African Americans or racial integration in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. U.S. white supremacism also evokes the Nazi use of fire in the mid-twentieth century to burn the Jewish Torah and synagogues and eventually to incinerate the bodies of many of their 12 million murdered civilian victims in the Holocaust. Indeed, the term “holocaust” means sacrifice or destruction by fire and also suggests purification of the Aryan race. Fire remains an important element of WSM culture today.

9. The WSM Socializes Its Recruits to Utilize Racially-Motivated Violence

The WSM recruits and socializes its members and affiliates through pathways that are broadly similar to how people become committed to other movements of violent extremism such as Islamic-inspired terrorism. Becoming a violent white supremacist requires both “behavioral radicalization” - becoming involved in a white supremacist group or network - and “cognitive radicalization” - adopting an ideology of extreme racial hatred.⁷⁷ Behavioral and cognitive radicalization are mutually reinforcing pathways. And either can initiate the process of becoming a violent white supremacist. A person may first become interested in racially extremist ideas (cognitive radicalization), and then seek out others with those beliefs (behavioral radicalization). Or they may first start associating with persons who hold racially extremist beliefs (behavioral radicalization), and then adopt those ideologies (cognitive radicalization). Deepening involvement with extremists introduces recruits to new aspects of extremist beliefs, while deepening knowledge of extremist ideology can increase a person’s desire to associate with others who share those beliefs. This cycle shapes a recruit’s identity as an extremist as well as his or her commitment to extremist goals.

Our assessment is that WSM culture is key to the pathways of recruitment and radicalization in violent white supremacism. The beliefs of white supremacism are circulated through the cultural spaces, including on-line discussions, social media posts, music, parties, community events, sporting events such as MMA, and virtual gaming platforms that are orchestrated or have been penetrated by white supremacists.⁷⁸ White supremacists also use these forums to approach and befriend potential recruits, introducing them to a community of people who may not initially seem to be racial extremists. WSM culture’s emphasis on the distinction between insiders and outsiders also nurtures the development of an individual’s identity as a white supremacist and commitment to the white supremacist cause as the person learns and increasingly adopts white supremacist ideas and ways of behaving that are not widely shared beyond the circle of committed insiders, such as participating in violence, marking one’s body with a swastika, and immersing oneself in white supremacist social media and Internet sites.⁷⁹

WSM culture provides connections that link individuals at various levels of participation in a common purpose. It also provides ways for individuals to move from a movement outsider to a movement insider. Those simply affiliated with the WSM find opportunities in its communication platforms to learn insider white supremacist ideas and codes, which open the door to attending rallies or

⁷⁷ Blee 2002; 2011; Hafez and Mullins 2015; Bjorgo and Horgan 2008; Windisch et al 2018.

⁷⁸ Miller-Idriss 2020; Simi and Futrell 2010.

⁷⁹ Blee 2002; Simi and Futrell 2010.

emotive collective rituals such as cross-burnings and participating in online white supremacist discussions without officially joining any group.⁸⁰ Members can take an official act of commitment to a specific group, such as signing a membership card, attending initiations, or paying dues. Some individuals earn the distinction of being regarded as members of the WSM by committing acts of violence. For example, individuals can earn the right to display certain insignia of group belonging (such as shoelaces of certain colors, tattoos, or patches) by assaulting a nonwhite person.⁸¹ Both affiliates and members identify with the grievances and promote the agendas of the broader movement, but members assume an additional formal role that may allow them to hold specific leadership or spokesperson positions.

10. The WSM Utilizes Strategies of Deniability

Our opinion is that WSM culture is organized to allow individuals and the movement itself to deny culpability for the consequences of violence by sending different messages in front-stage and back-stage areas. White supremacist messaging can switch quickly when there is a perception that outsiders have entered into insider space. This is evident in both face-to-face spaces such as house parties and virtual spaces such as Internet chat rooms and discussion forums in which the nature of communications can change abruptly from back-stage messaging to front-stage messaging when a user is suspected of infiltrating or surveilling the site.

Deniability also is created through double-speak, taking advantage of a general cultural practice in which people are understood to be giving contradictory messages, such as making a statement with a “wink and a nod” to signal that the message is not meant to be taken at face value. An example is the 1920s Ku Klux Klan’s use of 3-K names, such as Kwik Kustom Kleaners, to signal to insiders an establishment owned by a Klansman while allowing the storekeeper to claim that the name was an innocent alliteration rather than a reference to the Klan. More recently, lyrics in Nazi hate rock include intentionally vague references to “stand one stand all” which allows the musicians and/or fan base to express plausible deniability that the lyrics relate to white supremacy. In fact, those “in the know” are very aware that the actual meaning is a reference to lyrics in a song by the white power skinhead band Youngland in which Wade Michael Page, who perpetrated the 2012 shooting at an Oak Creek, Wisconsin Sikh temple that left six dead, performed.⁸²

Social science research on language has identified how the tactic of joking can be used as a form of double-speak to deny culpability. This is a broad cultural practice, although more pronounced in particular subcultures such as white supremacy, in which the claim that “I was only joking” becomes a defense against possible challenge. Joking is employed with the intention of immunizing both the message and the messenger from negative consequences. Outsiders are told to regard the message as a joke. Insiders know that it is not. An example is a white supremacist image of violence against a nonwhite person that is accompanied by a disclaimer that the content is intended as a joke and the reader should avoid taking illegal or violent actions. For insiders to the WSM, the disclaimer is intended to be understood as a parody. Immersion in WSM culture prepares them to know that the claim “I was only

⁸⁰ Latif et. al 2018; McAdam, Tarrow, and Tilly 2003; McAdam 1990.

⁸¹ Gregory 2011.

⁸² Patterson and Handelman 2012.

joking” is not actually true but meant to provide a defense against any challenges. Thus, the disclaimer itself is part of the joke.⁸³

A site entitled “Nigger Jokes KKK” on Whitesonly.net [site is now blocked] provides an example of how a joke promotes violence while simultaneously seeming to disclaim it. A cartoon depicts a black man running with a target superimposed on his body.⁸⁴



After instructions on how to print the figure at the correct size to be a “nice gun target,” the site provides two instructions: “This is the most realistic gun target for police use today, since most felons are niggers,” and “we are strong against violence, and do not support violent or illegal behavior. This page is for laughs only.”⁸⁵ But even the message of nonviolence is then undercut by a declaration that Whitesonly.net is “the proud sponsors of America’s Favorite Sport” accompanied by a sketch of a black man dragged behind a pickup truck.⁸⁶



⁸³ Billig 2001.

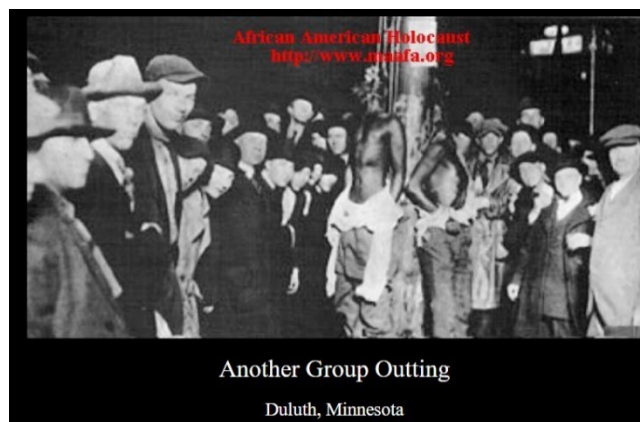
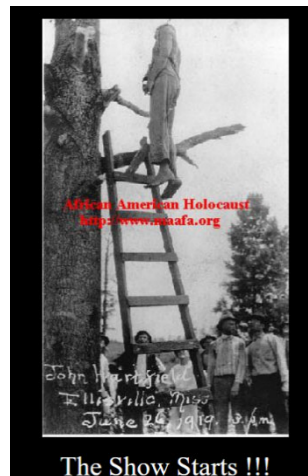
⁸⁴ <https://web.archive.org/web/20000510225441/http://www.whitesonly.net/target.html>.

⁸⁵ Billig 2001.

⁸⁶ <https://web.archive.org/web/20000510225441/http://www.whitesonly.net/target.html>.

The reference to the pickup dragging a black man is strategic in that there is a not-so-subtle underlying association to the actual murder of James Byrd Jr. by three white supremacists as described above.

The WSM also uses a different variant of the tactic of joking, in which a message is meant to be read as factual by outsiders but understood as a joke by insiders. Whitesonly.net provides another example. A “Lynching Tribute” page features of dead black men hanging⁸⁷:



⁸⁷ <https://web.archive.org/web/20000511132745/http://www.whitesonly.net/hanging.html>.

The lengthy page of lynched bodies ends with this statement:

This page is meant as a joke! don't do anything illegal. What has occurred in these pictures, is terrible. And if you even think about doing such an act, you are a moron. Hopefully after looking at these pictures, you'll see how terrible such activity is. And this page will make you realize how terrible violence is. Now, lets work together to end the death penalty. It's no different that what has occurred in the pictures above

Here, the joke is on the outsider who takes the declaration to avoid racist violence at face value. Insiders will understand that this declaration is meant as sarcasm since the message is wholly inconsistent with the celebration of racial violence on the rest of this site.

White supremacists intend these jokes to be obvious to those in the WSM and obscure to those outside the movement. They assume that insiders have the contextual knowledge to know when a message is meant to be ironic. The widespread understanding in WSM culture is that the movement includes groups and members that support violence against enemies, and that the movement enables insiders to recognize the varying levels of irony in messages about racial violence. The use of ironic and sarcastic humor provides a built-in defense should outsiders object to the substance of the joke or suggest the statement is an incitement to violence.

11. Summary of the WSM

In our opinion, the WSM in the United States exhibits a set of core characteristics:

- A racist ideology based on white supremacism, anti-Semitism, and hostility toward immigrants, sexual minorities, and feminism;
- Radical division between insiders and outsiders, accompanied by intense suspicion of outsiders;
- A decentralized structure that is coordinated through a white supremacist culture in which violence is central;
- A high degree of internal conflict;
- Technologies that enable a WSM culture;
- A language of double-speak;
- Strong separation of messages and actions that are allowed in the public “front-stage” from those restricted to the private “back-stage”;
- Use of multiple forms of violence;
- Support for racial violence as necessary to defend the white race;
- Insider language and codes, including frequent references to violence and genocide;

- Advanced preparation to defend against repercussions of violent acts through tactics of deniability and joking.

C. Defendants' Actions Evince an Involvement in, and Deep Familiarity with, the WSM

In our opinion, Defendants' actions before (and at) UTR were directly consistent with the tactics of the WSM. Defendants were immersed in white supremacist culture and goals, as founders, leaders, spokespersons, members, and affiliates of white supremacist groups and networks; participants in white supremacist events and actions; and advocates and practitioners of violence on behalf of white supremacy. It is our opinion that their professed beliefs and the groups and networks with which they were affiliated are precisely consistent with the broad and decentralized white supremacist movement culture active in the U.S. today, a culture that has historical roots in the racial animus and anti-Semitism of the nation's earlier Ku Klux Klans and neo-Nazism. Each of the Defendants shares his/its own unique pathway into this culture:

Jason Kessler is from Charlottesville, Virginia. Prior to planning and attending UTR, he voiced anti-Semitic conspiracy theories, articulated his view that whites are under attack and subject to a threat of "white genocide," and expressed his resentment at the United States taking in immigrants and refugees. Kessler founded Unity and Security for America, a white supremacist organization, which aims to drastically limit immigration to the U.S. from non-European countries so as to stave off the impending "white genocide" in America.⁸⁸ In April 2017, Kessler pleaded guilty to a misdemeanor assault charge after punching a man in the face while he was attempting to gain signatures for a petition to remove Charlottesville's African-American vice-mayor and councilman, Wes Bellamy.⁸⁹ Kessler helped plan and attended the May 13, 2017, Charlottesville rally at which he gave a speech in which he praised fascist and racist organizations, thanked a prominent Holocaust denier, and declared the beginnings of a cultural "civil war."⁹⁰

Christopher Cantwell is a prolific creator of white supremacist content. Cantwell began publishing articles about his political views as early as 2013 on ChristopherCantwell.com. In 2015, Cantwell appeared on The Daily Shoah, and said, "It's the right thing to be concerned about the immigration, because you see these fucking hordes of unwashed religious fanatics pouring across borders with no resources just thinking that they're going to collect welfare and fuck our women and fucking breed us out of existence. That makes me want to bash people's skulls open, I understand."⁹¹ In January of 2016, Cantwell described himself as a "pro-white anarcho-capitalist" on Red Ice Radio, a channel on YouTube that has been repeatedly removed for promoting racist views.⁹² Cantwell hosts an Internet radio show, "Radical Agenda," known for featuring racially extreme content. In an episode of "Radical Agenda" entitled "I Almost Committed a Hate Crime," Cantwell stated: "I never wanted to jump over a counter and attack a fucking hotel clerk because he fucking didn't speak proper English. But what it is

⁸⁸ Morlin 2017.

⁸⁹ RVA Magazin, Oct. 4, 2017, "White Supremacist Jason Kessler Charged with Felony Perjury," available at <https://rvamag.com/news/white-supremacist-jason-kessler-charged-with-felony-perjury.html>.

⁹⁰ Thompson, A.C. (May 31, 2017). "A Few Things Got Left Out of The Daily Caller's Report on Confederate Monument Rally," available at <https://www.propublica.org/article/things-got-left-out-of-the-daily-callers-report-confederate-monument-rally>.

⁹¹ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Christopher Cantwell," available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/christopher-cantwell>.

⁹² *Id.*

now is that I see it as a fucking threat. You know? I feel like my country is being fucking invaded. That like I'm being outbred. That guy has probably fucking 12 kids at home.”⁹³ On July 15, 2017, Cantwell posted on his Minds account “America will never be free until the last kike is strangled with the entrails of the last male democrat.”

Richard Spencer founded the white supremacist website “Alternative Right” and popularized the phrase “Alt-Right.”⁹⁴ In 2011, he took over leadership of the National Policy Institute (NPI), a white supremacist “think tank” that, among other things, publishes pseudo-scientific “reports” touting the genetic inferiority of African Americans, such as a 2015 article co-authored by Spencer called “Race 101” which posited that Black people were genetically less intelligent and statistically more violent.⁹⁵ For years prior to UTR, Spencer has been an outspoken advocate for the establishment of a “white ethno-state on the North American continent.”⁹⁶ In a NPI column in 2014, Spencer wrote, “Immigration is a kind a proxy war—and maybe a last stand—for White Americans, who are undergoing a painful recognition that, unless dramatic action is taken, their grandchildren will live in a country that is alien and hostile.”⁹⁷

Robert Warren “Azzmador” Ray first came to prominence on WSM social media in 2014 and 2015, including as a writer for the leading neo-Nazi website and blog, The Daily Stormer.⁹⁸ In 2017, Ray launched a podcast called “The Krypto Report,” further expanding his influence in the WSM.⁹⁹ Ray used his platform to organize and promote multiple in-person events prior to UTR, including protests, together with members of Vanguard America, at the Sam Houston statute in downtown Houston and at the Texas State Capitol in Austin in June 2017.¹⁰⁰ Ray also coordinated and led in-person meetings of the “Stormer Book Clubs,” which are on-the-ground gatherings of white supremacists that Andrew Anglin, founder and editor of The Daily Stormer, has called an “IRL [In Real Life] Troll Army.”¹⁰¹

Nathan Damigo became fully radicalized after reading David Duke’s *My Awakening* while in prison¹⁰² after being convicted of armed robbery for brandishing a loaded gun on a cab driver for “looking Iraqi” and robbing him of \$43.¹⁰³ After Damigo was released from prison in 2014, he led the National Youth Front, the youth wing of the American Freedom Party, a white supremacist group.¹⁰⁴ In May 2016, Damigo founded Identity Evropa, another white supremacist organization.¹⁰⁵ Damigo attended several in-person events prior to UTR, including another Charlottesville event earlier in 2017 referred to as

⁹³ *Id.*

⁹⁴ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Alt-Right,” available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/ideology/alt-right>.

⁹⁵ F. Roger Devlin & Richard Spencer, *Race 101*, NAT’L. POLI’Y. INST. (May 10, 2016), <https://nationalpolicy.institute/2016/05/10/racestalking-the-wild-taboo/#ffn10>.

⁹⁶ Def. Richard Spencer Objections and Responses To Pl.’s Request for Production No.4, pg. 10 (Apr 18, 2018).

⁹⁷ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Richard Spencer.”

⁹⁸ Zitchak, Alexander (February 22, 2019). “The Brawler,” Southern Poverty Law Center, available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2018/brawler>.

⁹⁹ *Id.*

¹⁰⁰ *Id.*

¹⁰¹ Barrouquere 2020.

¹⁰² Nathan Damigo Deposition Transcript, June 10, 2020, 69:14-23.

¹⁰³ *Id.* at 69:2-6; 71:13-18.

¹⁰⁴ *Id.* at 94:19-97:14.

¹⁰⁵ Branson-Potts 2016.

“Charlottesville 1.0” and a rally in Washington, D.C. on June 25, 2017.¹⁰⁶ On April 15, 2017, at an event now known as “The Battle of Berkeley,” Damigo punched a 95-pound 19-year-old woman in the face.¹⁰⁷

Elliot Kline AKA Eli Mosley changed his surname to Mosley to honor Oswald Mosley, a British fascist.¹⁰⁸ Kline called himself the “Judenjager,” or Jew hunter and suggested the creation of a “Jew-detecting app.”¹⁰⁹ Kline was a member of the Proud Boys until December 2016 and then joined Identity Evropa. Kline wrote articles for The Daily Stormer, the largest hate site on the Internet in the United States.¹¹⁰ Prior to UTR, Kline helped to organize and attended multiple in-person events, including a white supremacist rally in Philadelphia, PA (March 25, 2017); a rally in Washington D.C. on April 7, 2017, at which Kline tackled and punched a counter-protestor; a rally at Auburn on April 18, 2017; and Charlottesville 1.0 (May 13, 2017).

Identity Evropa (IE) promoted white European identity and the preservation of white culture based on the concept of “identitarian politics.”¹¹¹ IE’s goal was to achieve a white ethnostate. IE’s slogan was “You will not replace us,” which was first used in February 2017 at an IE protest in New York City.¹¹²

James Alex Fields, Jr., who drove his car into a crowd of protestors at UTR, killing one of them, has been advocating for violence in the name of white supremacy since high school, including “violence in the streets” and “violence towards the groups” of non-white individuals that he reviled.¹¹³ In the months leading up to UTR, Fields continued to express anti-Semitic and racist comments and images. In May 2017, Fields posted, “rid the world of [J]ews.”¹¹⁴ In July 2017, Fields posted “Hitler was right” and “The Holocaust is a lie.”¹¹⁵ Over the five months prior to UTR, Fields tweeted or direct messaged thirty images depicting Adolf Hitler; six images depicting Zyklon-B, the nerve gas the Nazis used in gas chambers to commit mass murder; and numerous images of Nazi propaganda.¹¹⁶ Fields also referred to African Americans as “nigger,” “gorilla,” and “retard.”¹¹⁷ In the months before UTR, Fields posted memes on social media that advocated using a car to run over protestors in the streets.¹¹⁸

¹⁰⁶ Nathan Damigo Deposition Transcript, June 10, 2020, 136:21-23; 138:12-19.

¹⁰⁷ *Id.* at 126:19-21.

¹⁰⁸ Cott 2018.

¹⁰⁹ AltRight, #general, Eli Mosley#5269, 2017-06-02 (4:51 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006626.

¹¹⁰ Kelley 2017.

¹¹¹ Counter Extremism Project, available at <https://www.counterextremism.com/supremacy/identity-evropaamerican-identity-movement>.

¹¹² Rachel Frazin, Feb. 21, 2018, Identity Evropa Elicits Concern on Campus available at <https://www.usnews.com/news/politics/articles/2018-02-21/identity-evropa-elicits-concern-on-campus>.

¹¹³ Sentencing Memorandum of the United States, *United States of America v. James Alex Fields, Jr.*, 18-cr-11, ECF No. 50, at 14.

¹¹⁴ *Id.* at 12.

¹¹⁵ *Id.*

¹¹⁶ *Id.*

¹¹⁷ *Id.*

¹¹⁸ *Id.* at 13; Adone and Dolan 2018; Augenstein 2018; Lavoie and NBC Washington 2019.

Vanguard America (VA) was founded in 2016 with a mission to make the United States a whites-only country. Its slogan, “Blood and Soil,” had roots in Nazi Germany.¹¹⁹ In 2017, the group became a member of the Nationalist Front (NF) and participated in NF rallies.¹²⁰

Matthew Heimbach founded the White Student Union at Towson University in 2012 where he declared, “No longer will the homosexual, Muslim, and black supremacist groups be allowed to hijack our campus. ... Youth for Western Civilization is preparing to take our campus back, all we need is the help of people like you to make it happen.”¹²¹ He later co-founded (with Matthew Parrott) the Traditionalist Worker Party (TWP),¹²² which seeks to “establish an independent White ethno-state in North America” by “fighting for the rights and self determination of Whites in America,” and “declar[ing] war on international Jewry.”¹²³ He also co-founded the Nationalist Front, a coalition to bring together neo-Nazi, KKK, white power skinhead and other white supremacist groups, including TWP, NSM, League of the South, and Vanguard America. The Nationalist Front seeks to “bring unity and solidarity to the White Nationalist movement in North America” by destroying “diversity” and “leverag[ing] the power of solidarity and scale to raise our voices and our fists against the organized Left and the globalist Jewish oligarchs.”¹²⁴

Matthew Parrott (AKA David Matthew Parrott) co-founded the Traditionalist Youth Network (TYN) with Matthew Heimbach in 2013 to bring young people into white supremacy. Two years later, the two co-founded TWP, described below, a political party influenced by the National Socialist Party in Germany. Parrott, like Heimbach, viewed Adolf Hitler as inspirational and credit Hitler’s manifesto, *Mein Kampf*, as influencing their political views.¹²⁵ In addition to serving as the TWP’s Chief Information Officer, Parrott was a co-founder of Lighthouse Literature, an Internet white supremacist bookstore¹²⁶, and founded the white supremacist Hoosier Nation group in Indiana.¹²⁷ Parrott had written for racist websites, including Counter Currents Publishing.

The Traditionalist Worker Party was founded in 2015 with the purpose of bringing white working-class families into white supremacy.¹²⁸ As described above, TWP was founded on principles of national socialism and sought to “establish an independent White ethno-state in North America.” In 2017 the group became a member of the Nationalist Front.

¹¹⁹ Southern Poverty Law Center, *Alleged Charlottesville Driver Who Killed One Rallied With Alt-Right Vanguard America Group*, August 13, 2017, available at <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2017/08/12/alleged-charlottesville-driver-who-killed-one-rallied-alt-right-vanguard-america-group>.

¹²⁰ *Id.*

¹²¹ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Matthew Heimbach,” available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/matthew-heimbach>.

¹²² *Id.*

¹²³ July 31, 2017, Traditionalist Worker Party, 25 Point Plan (MWH00036188).

¹²⁴ July 10, 2017, The Nationalist Front, For Our Children, For Our Future, available at <https://web.archive.org/web/20170710001052/https://www.nfunity.org/>.

¹²⁵ Matthew Parrott Deposition Tr. at 36:11-14; 38:24-25; 39:1-5.

¹²⁶ Southern Poverty Law Center, “White Student Unions: White Nationalist Minor League,” available at <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2013/08/02/white-student-unions-white-nationalist-minor-league>.

¹²⁷ Tony Rehagen, “Matthew Heimbach Has A Dream—A Very Different Dream,” *Indianapolis Monthly*, available at <https://www.indianapolismonthly.com/longform/white-space> (Mar. 21, 2017).

¹²⁸ Southern Poverty Law Center, “Traditionalist Worker Party,” available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/traditionalist-worker-party>.

Michael Tubbs was one of the leaders of Defendant League of the South. Tubbs served as the Vice Chairman of the Northeast Florida chapter and as Chief of Staff to the League's leader Michael Hill.¹²⁹ In 1987, Tubbs, then a Green Beret, used automatic weapons to rob two African American soldiers at Fort Bragg. Tubbs and a partner yelled, "This is for the KKK." The investigation revealed five stockpiles of weapons, tapes of Hitler's speeches, and lists of targets including businesses owned by Jews and Black people.¹³⁰ In 2016, he posted on Facebook, "The anniversary of the OKC bombing reminded me of an old newspaper article from 1996. 'Before there was Timothy McVeigh there was Michael Tubbs.'"¹³¹

Michael Hill founded and led the League of the South. He has made his white supremacist views plain in a series of writings over the last two decades. In an essay in 2012, Hill wrote that white people are endowed with a "God-ordained superiority."¹³² He further wrote on an internal LoS Facebook group that, "[T]he South has a 'black' problem. On December 8, 2015, he wrote on a LoS Facebook group, "Never underestimate the perfidy of the organized Jew. He is crafty enough to manipulate both sides in a conflict for his own advantage. From my experience and studies, I have come to the conclusion that his main enemy is European man..."¹³³

The League of the South (LoS) was founded in 1994 by Michael Hill and has engaged in demonstrations, rallies, and paramilitary activity.¹³⁴ According to the SPLC, "In recent years, it has increasingly embraced violence, criticized perceived Jewish power and warned black people that they would be defeated in a future race war."¹³⁵ As Jack Kershaw, a LoS board member stated in 1998, "Somebody needs to say a good word for slavery. Where in the world are the Negroes better off today than in America?"¹³⁶ In 2017, LoS founded the Southern Defense Force to "hel[p] our State and local magistrates across Dixie combat this growing leftist menace to our historic Christian civilization." Defendant Tubbs was identified as one of the group's operation commanders.¹³⁷

Jeff Schoep was the "Commander" of the National Socialist Movement (NSM) from 1994 to 2019.¹³⁸ In 2016, Schoep oversaw the creation of the Aryan Nationalist Alliance (ANA), which later became the Nationalist Front and brought together several white supremacist outfits including TWP, VA and LoS.¹³⁹ Under Schoep's leadership, NSM members wore Nazi-era uniforms, including brown shirts

¹²⁹ Potok 2004; Southern Poverty Law Center, "Michael Ralph Tubbs," available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/michael-ralph-tubbs>.

¹³⁰ Potok 2004.

¹³¹ Southern Poverty Law Center, "Michael Ralph Tubbs," available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/michael-ralph-tubbs>.

¹³² Southern Poverty Law Center, "Michael Hill," available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/individual/michael-hill>.

¹³³ *Id.*

¹³⁴ Southern Poverty Law Center, "League of the South, available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/league-south>.

¹³⁵ *Id.*

¹³⁶ *Id.*

¹³⁷ *Id.*

¹³⁸ Mettler, Katie (March 1, 2019). "How a black man 'outsmarted' a neo-Nazi group — and became their new leader." The Washington Post, available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/dc-md-va/2019/03/01/how-black-man-outsmarted-neo-nazi-group-became-their-new-leader/>.

¹³⁹ Southern Poverty Law Center, *The Nationalist Front Limps into 2017*, August 8, 2017, available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2017/nationalist-front-limps-2017>.

and swastika armbands, as well as all-black military-style “battle dress uniforms.” As Commander of the NSM, Schoep organized and led various events (including swastika and rune burnings), and the NSM ascribed to an ideology and used symbols reminiscent of the Third Reich.

The National Socialist Movement (NSM) is a decades-old group with roots in the National Socialist American Workers Freedom Movement and its predecessor, the American Nazi Party.¹⁴⁰ The NSM claims to have chapters throughout the United States.¹⁴¹ The NSM has held demonstrations, rallies, leaflet campaigns, and other gatherings and activities (including swastika and rune burnings) to promote its virulent anti-Semitic and racist ideology; to openly honor Adolf Hitler (including annual events to celebrate Hitler’s birthday); and to recruit new members, particularly youth. Members have a history of violence towards perceived enemies.¹⁴²

The Nationalist Front (NF), formerly the Aryan Nationalist Alliance (ANA), is a now-defunct white supremacist coalition of existing organizations, including NSM, VA, LoS, and TWP, as well as groups associated with the Ku Klux Klan, which sought to create a white ethnostate that excludes Jews and other minorities.¹⁴³ The NF held demonstrations and rallies to spread its ideology.¹⁴⁴ The group was founded by Schoep and Heimbach in November 2016, as a rebranding of the ANA, to demonstrate unity among several groups within the white supremacist movement; LoS later joined the coalition in 2017.¹⁴⁵ The NSM was the primary organization in the coalition, with Schoep at its helm.¹⁴⁶

D. Defendants Participated in and Praised the Use of WSM Tactics at Pre-UTR Events

The Unite the Right rally was not the first instance in which the Defendants exhibited and/or praised the use of WSM tactics. Specifically, in the lead up to UTR, there were multiple events staged by WSM groups and leaders, including many of the Defendants, which attracted extensive publicity to the movement - often due to the violence that occurred at the events. Significantly, these events attracted and brought together members of multiple WSM groups.

Several of the events leading up to UTR involved clashes and confrontations between the white supremacists (including certain of the Defendants) and counter-protestors or bystanders. Indeed, the WSM rhetoric about pre-UTR events included attention to violence at these events, some of which were recast after the fact as “battles.” For example, a 2016 clash in California where multiple counter-protestors were stabbed was described by TWP-affiliated Traditionalist Youth Network as the “Battle of Sacramento” and publicly celebrated after the fact by Parrott.¹⁴⁷ And in the spring 2017, white supremacist violence that occurred at an event in Berkeley, California, became commonly known throughout the WSM, including by Defendants, as “the Battle of Berkeley,” noting that this was not only

¹⁴⁰ Southern Poverty Law Center, “National Socialist Movement,” available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/extremist-files/group/national-socialist-movement>.

¹⁴¹ *Id.*

¹⁴² *Id.*

¹⁴³ Southern Poverty Law Center, *The Nationalist Front Limpers into 2017*, August 8, 2017, available at <https://www.splcenter.org/fighting-hate/intelligence-report/2017/nationalist-front-limps-2017>.

¹⁴⁴ *Id.*

¹⁴⁵ *Id.*

¹⁴⁶ *Id.*

¹⁴⁷ February 21, 2019, The Foundry Podcast #3 at 1:11:00 – 1:11:40 (“The greatest battle victory we’ve had, greater than Charlottesville,” “truly legendary”).

a pivotal event for white supremacists that indicated the need for violence against their “existential foes”; it had now become the “new normal.” As Richard Spencer described it on April 16, 2017:

I think it’s a day to remember because it reveals to us this new normal that we’re living in. This new world, a world of politicized violence and a world in which two vanguards representing two sides of the political spectrum in the United States no longer saw each other as debating partners or adversaries or so on but saw each other as two camps that fundamentally disagree two camps that see one another as existential foes and so a kind of war took place... politics is about the use of force ... and when we see images like Berkeley I do think we get an idea of where we are socially and culturally and just how divided we are ...”¹⁴⁸

E. Defendants Exhibited the Characteristics of the WSM When Planning and Organizing UTR

In our opinion, Defendants, whose conduct evinced a familiarity with and immersion in the WSM culture, reflected the core characteristics of the WSM in planning and organizing UTR.

1. Defendants Disseminated White Supremacist and Anti-Semitic Ideologies In Planning and Organizing UTR

In planning and organizing UTR, Defendants uniformly portrayed an animus toward non-whites - racial and religious minorities and immigrants - which they disseminated to their supporters as a motivating principle for the event. Indeed, they openly promoted the event as an opportunity to fight non-whites and their supporters. For example, Michael Hill tweeted “if you want to defend the South and Western Civilization from the Jew and his dark-skinned allies, be at Charlottesville on 12 August.”¹⁴⁹ Similarly, Matthew Parrott wrote regarding attendance at UTR that “We need to scare these people, and the way to achieve that is with numbers, discipline; and determination. We must send a message to the Jewish oligarchs and their hordes of minions that we will not go silently into the night as they desire - no, we will fight them; we will defeat them, and we will secure our people’s destiny.”¹⁵⁰ Samantha Froelich, Kline’s ex-girlfriend and former IE member, testified that Kline specifically told her that “he couldn’t wait to crush Jews and couldn’t wait to stomp Jews at Unite the Right.”¹⁵¹ On August 11, 2017, the day of the torch march, Kline posted on Discord, “I hate Jews.”¹⁵²

Ray’s posts on Discord similarly reflect a deeply-held anti-Semitic viewpoint and that this animus toward Jews was a motivating principle for UTR. For example, On July 28, 2017, Ray posted on Discord, “I just got done with an hours long chat with some of the event organizers and I feel better about the thing. The plan is the same, gas the kikes, pr war now, plenty of trolling and lulz.” On August 8, 2017, Ray distributed a poster on Discord and on The Daily Stormer stating, “CHARLOTTESVILLE

¹⁴⁸ AltRight.com (2017, April 16). *What Berkeley Means* [Video File]. Retrieved from <http://altcensored.com/watch?v=VCvZZlroDQ4>.

¹⁴⁹ Hill, M. [@MichaelHill51], (2017, July 24)., *If you want to defend the South and Western Civilization from the Jew and his dark-skinned allies, be at Charlottesville* [Tweet], Twitter.

¹⁵⁰ MWH00040549.

¹⁵¹ Deposition of Samantha Froelich, March 9, 2020, 142:6-14.

¹⁵² Eli Mosley#5269, DMs with Kurt#8752, 2017-08-11 (2:07 am UTC), DISCORD-008929.

AUGUST 12TH: UNITE THE RIGHT—JOIN AZZMADOR AND THE DAILY STORMER TO END JEWISH INFLUENCE IN AMERICA—DAILYSTORMER.COM.¹⁵³

Similarly, less than a month before UTR, Fields commented on an Instagram post “@_the_southern_pr1de Heil Hitler. We must secure the existence of our people, & a future for White Children.”¹⁵⁴

On August 10, 2017, the day before the Torch March and two days before UTR, Richard Spencer tweeted¹⁵⁵ the following meme of Charlottesville Vice Mayor Wes Bellamy, an African American man:



¹⁵³ Azzmador & Anglin, A. (2017, August 8). *Charlottesville: Why You Must Attend and What to Bring and Not to Bring!* Retrieved from <https://dailystormer.su/charlottesville-we-are-still-going-why-you-must-attend-and-what-to-bring-and-not-to-bring>.

¹⁵⁴ 18cr1100000409 - 318cr1100000411.

¹⁵⁵ Spencer, R. [@RichardBSpencer], (2017, Aug. 10) @ViceMayorWesB [Tweet], Twitter, <https://twitter.com/richardbspencer?lang=en>.

2. Defendants Expressed A Radical Division Between Insiders and Outsider When Planning and Organizing UTR

Throughout the planning and organization process of UTR, Defendants consistently emphasized a violent disdain for the people they expected would be counter-protesting the event, whom the Defendants referred to as a monolithic group variously and interchangeably as “Antifa,” “commies,” “race traitors,” “enemies,” or “the Left.” One of the primary organizing documents for the event, produced by lead organizer Kline, discussed this “us versus them” approach:

This rally, like the Battle of Berkley, will be a chance to show the left in one of their central power hubs that they will no longer go unopposed like they are used to.... Both the Alt Right and ‘Alt Light/New Right’ will be setting aside our differences and focus on our areas of common ground against our mutual enemies who see no difference between us. We will send the message that we will not be divided, we will not allow them to erase history without a fight, and that they are on the out while the right wing continues to grow.¹⁵⁶

Likewise, the day before the Rally, Fields sent his mother a text message in response to her warning to “Be careful” at the Rally saying “We’re not the one [sic] who need to be careful” and attaching a photo of Adolf Hitler.¹⁵⁷

Similarly, an article Spencer published on altright.com on August 5, 2017, one week before the event, seemed to reaffirm his view that battle lines had been drawn between the white supremacists and counter-protestors: “We’re ready for a fight if it comes to it. In fact, we welcome Antifa to start it. We will defend ourselves and break that pathetic little trust fund anti-White faggot organization once and for all.”¹⁵⁸ Along similar lines, in a Facebook post he read on his podcast a week before the event, Chris Cantwell said the following: “I think chemical and biological weapons can do a great deal of good for mankind releasing nerve gas or some kind of lethal virus into a leftwing protest could prepare the bodies for physical removal without making a big scene for the cameras and destroying anything of value.”¹⁵⁹ Unlike what one might expect for an event that was ostensibly designed to showcase a set of beliefs, Defendants generated a sense that a confrontation with outsiders was the purpose of UTR. Indeed, the title of the event - “Unite the Right” - seems plainly intended to convey a sense of unity and cohesion amongst the white supremacists in opposition to those who planned to counter-protest the event.

3. Defendants Utilized New Communication Technologies to Plan UTR

As discussed, a major component of WSM culture in recent decades has involved utilizing technology to generate and distribute propaganda, recruit new members, and sustain existing ones. These goals are accomplished by exploiting technological features that facilitate virtual forms of social interaction and communication, while creating some measure of anonymity from outsiders that reflects

¹⁵⁶ June 11, 2017, Operation Unite the Right Charlottesville 2.0 (NOCUSTODIAN00013378).

¹⁵⁷ City_00033058 - City_00033059.

¹⁵⁸ Law, V. (2017, August 06). *The 'Unite The Right' Rally Is Going To Be A Turning Point For White Identity In America*. Retrieved September 19, 2017, from <https://altright.com/2017/08/05/the-unite-the-right-rally-is-going-to-be-a-turning-point-for-white-identity-in-america/>.

¹⁵⁹ Cantwell, C. (Producer). (2017, August 8). Agreeing With Liberals Blitzkrieg [Audio podcast]. Retrieved from <https://christophercantwell.com/2017/08/07/radical-agenda-ep340-agreeing-liberals-blitzkrieg/>.

the WSM emphasis on the separation of “front-stage” from “back-stage” messages and interactions. Consistent with the practices of contemporary WSM culture, we would anticipate that Defendants used multiple types of digital technology and communication platforms to plan and publicize UTR, such as Twitter, Facebook, Instagram, YouTube, 4chan, 8chan, twitch, Gab, Telegram, Discord, and cell phone texting. However, we understand that Defendants have acknowledged that much of the planning for UTR occurred on Discord.¹⁶⁰ Consequently, our report focuses mainly on Defendants’ communications on Discord, but we also include examples from several other digital platforms.

Discord hosted multiple discussion groups on white supremacist and related themes prior to Defendants’ use of the platform in the planning of UTR, as its emphasis on privacy and anonymity was consistent with the WSM’s secrecy goals.¹⁶¹ Indeed, long before Kessler announced his intention to organize UTR in May 2017, multiple Defendants, including Damigo, Cantwell, Ray, Kline, Parrott, and Heimbach, posted on the Discord platform under their respective handles.

Defendants used the Discord platform to plan many aspects of UTR, but it also appears plain that they used the platform to propel a self-reinforcing white supremacist culture that later incited participants to engage in violence at the event. UTR planning predominantly took place on the “Charlottesville 2.0” server on which Kessler began to post in June 2017, although there were other Discord servers where planning for UTR was discussed that were associated with Cantwell, Damigo, Heimbach and Traditionalist Worker Party, Kline, Identity Evropa, Parrott, Ray, and Vanguard America, and a variety of other servers including the Alt-Right, Thunderdome, Aquilonia, and Radical Agenda servers.¹⁶² The 61 Channels of Charlottesville 2.0 were organized in topics that ranged from event planning logistics (e.g., “carpool available” and “gear_and_attire”), to issues of violence and law (e.g., “medic_team” and “virginia_laws” and participating groups (e.g., “traditionalist_workers_party” and “league_of_the_south”). Kessler had administrative and moderator privileges on the Charlottesville 2.0 server, which allowed him to promote and demote moderators who, in turn, had the ability to edit and remove posts.¹⁶³ We understand that Damigo, Heimbach, Kline, Parrott, and Ray also had roles as administrators or moderators on either the Charlottesville 2.0 server or their own servers.¹⁶⁴ The Charlottesville 2.0 server was seemingly structured to reflect an ambition on the part of the organizers for a large gathering of WSM groups from a wide geographical area. Specifically, many of the server’s Channels were specifically devoted to various regions around the country, such as dc_va_md and california_pacific_nw. Further, that there were Channels devoted to planning for medical and legal

¹⁶⁰ See, e.g., Jason Kessler Deposition Transcript, May 16, 2018, at 237-39.

¹⁶¹ Flynn 2018; Roose 2017.

¹⁶² E.g., Altright, #ama, Azzmador/Azzmador#6970, 2017-08-06 (19:20 UTC), DISCORD-0006647; Altright, #general, Radical Agenda/Radical Agenda#7529, 2017-08-05 (8:26 am UTC), DISCORD-0006626; Altright, #general, Vanguard#2353, 2017-07-29 (3:14 am UTC), DISCORD-0006626; Thunderdome, #events, Azzmador/Azzmador#6970, 2017-08-06 (2:07 am UTC), DISCORD-0005500; Aquilonia, #general, Azzmador/Azzmador#6970, 2017-05-14 (4:36 am UTC), DISCORD-005571; Radical Agenda, #general, Radical Agenda/Radical Agenda#7529, 2017-08-01 (12:32 am UTC), DISCORD-004534.

¹⁶³ Jason Kessler Deposition Transcript, May 15, 2018, at 294.

¹⁶⁴ Matthew Heimbach Deposition Transcript, June 3, 2020, at 582:13-17; Nathan Damigo Deposition Transcript, June 10, 2020, at 218:24 – 219:07; Elliot Kline Deposition Transcript, August 7, 2019, at 238:11-18; Matthew Parrott Deposition Transcript, June 26, 2020, at 86:23-25; Thunderdome, #hydra, Zeiger#8932, 2016-10-01 (6:23 pm UTC), DISCORD-0005488.

assistance is also consistent with the idea that the organizers expected violence at UTR. Other WSM groups that were invited to UTR, such as the Stormer Book Clubs,¹⁶⁵ had Discord servers.

Defendants appeared to have influenced participation at UTR by using certain features of Discord that allowed them to determine who could participate in the channels in which planning for UTR was taking place. Users of at least some UTR-related Discord Channels were interviewed or otherwise vetted, as indicated in direct messages and posts by Ray: “when one of the other mods bans someone, they’re banned”¹⁶⁶ and “we’ve been doing a background check via several methods and then vetting in person.”¹⁶⁷ Kline also posted about his power to remove users: “I banned him from the cville 2 server.”¹⁶⁸ Defendant moderators also had the ability to influence what content was allowed to remain posted in any given channel and exercised that option at times, as Kessler did in the Charlottesville 2.0 server on August 8, 2017: “I want everyone to squash any beef with [name]... just leave her alone. The issue with her and [Defendant] TWP in particular has gone on too long. If you see this issue pop up in Discord or IRL ***delete the comments*** and tell people privately to knock it off, At this point it effects (sic) the internal security of our event and needs to be squashed.”¹⁶⁹ Defendants and their cohort had the ability to exclude those who expressed highly violent and genocidal aspirations from participation on the UTR-related servers on Discord, and thereby make it difficult for them to participate in planning UTR. But, as we discuss later, they rarely did so.

Multiple Defendants presented themselves on Discord as leaders of planning UTR. In his Discord posts, Kessler refers to himself as “the organizer” and explains that he is “getting up every day and working on this like a 9-5.”¹⁷⁰ When a user posted on the “mod-chat” Channel of Charlottesville 2.0 that “Jason is a public face to a lot of organization done by Eli [Kline] who is working full time for Nathan [Damigo] and Richard [Spencer],” Kessler quickly reposted it under his handle.¹⁷¹ Kessler also used Discord to announce who would be assigned to various UTR tasks. “PR Representatives (so far): Derrick – TWP Elliott Kline – Identity Evropa Francisco – Vanguard America Phoenix – GA#1420 – ATL-Right Silas Reynolds – Identity Dixie Crocket – League of the South Augustus Invictus – Revolutionary Conservative Mike Enoch – TRS Network.”¹⁷²

Posts on Discord further support the idea that Defendants utilized the platform to expand the reach of their planning, by, for example, appointing a hierarchy of subleaders to handle logistics for the event. As Heimbach described, “we try to keep folks in the official discord, I love the enthusiasm, and in the next week or so, we will have our regional commanders having a regional one for each section of the

¹⁶⁵ Daily Stormer Book Clubs are small crews of young white men who follow and support Andrew Anglin and his neo-Nazi website, The Daily Stormer. Launched in July 2013, the website is notorious for its hateful, racist content and troll culture. Hayden, M. E. (2019, Sept. 18). *Daily Stormer Website Goes Dark Amid Chaos*, Southern Poverty Law Center at <https://www.splcenter.org/hatewatch/2019/09/18/daily-stormer-website-goes-dark-amid-chaos>.

¹⁶⁶ Azzmador#6970, DMs with TuneanPerspective#675, 2017-07-04 (8:59 pm UTC), DISCORD-0005402.

¹⁶⁷ Vanguard South District, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-07-17 (1:35 am UTC), DISCORD-0005588.

¹⁶⁸ Identity Evropa, #coordinators, Eli Kline#5269, 2017-07-10 (12:39 am UTC), DISCORD-0006145.

¹⁶⁹ Charlottesville 2.0, #mod_chat, MadDimension#8652, 2017-08-08 (3:16 am UTC), DISCORD-0008280 (emphasis added).

¹⁷⁰ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, MadDimension#8652, 2017-07-25 (3:17 am UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

¹⁷¹ Charlottesville 2.0, #mod_chat, MadDimension#8652, 2017-07-25 (3:26 am UTC), DISCORD-0008280.

¹⁷² Charlottesville 2.0, #mod_chat, MadDimension#8652, 2017-06-14 (12:15 am UTC), DISCORD-0008280.

country to promote cooperation.”¹⁷³ Erica Alduino, a member of IE, posted that “state coordinators are responsible for booking and setting up carpools. Lodging coordinator is generally responsible for finding the lodging and directing individuals to who they need to talk to within their state if they need a carpool,”¹⁷⁴ and Ray posted on August 7, 2017, that “I’ve been in chats all evening getting everything coordinated to get our guys supplied [sic], updates and secured with a ride to the event, and then another logistics chat with the organizers.”¹⁷⁵

In sum, much like earlier WSM leaders, Defendants appear to have fully embraced the new technology Discord offered to enhance the scope and coordination of their messaging related to planning UTR.

4. Defendants Utilized Double-Speak When Planning and Organizing UTR

It is unmistakable from Defendants communications that they were familiar with the concept of double-speak and were well-versed in its use. They frequently used cultural themes, graphics, symbols, and code words that are widely understood by those immersed in the white supremacist culture to convey a meaning to insiders that differs from its surface meaning. A private message from Parrott captures the essence of white supremacist double-speak: “I wish they would tone that down a tad. We still try to discourage over-the-top nazi gestures...while churning out over-the-top nazi graphics.”¹⁷⁶ Similarly, a Discord Direct Message between Damigo and someone with the Discord handle “Karl North-TX” indicated that one of Damigo’s passwords was “StoptheHate1488,” itself an example of double-speak: it both signals genocide against Jews (“88” refers to “HH” or “Heil Hitler”) and supposed enemies of white people (the “14 Words” slogan written by white supremacist and terrorist David Lane) yet claims to advocate to others to “stop the hate.”¹⁷⁷

Defendants also invoked the strategy of double-speak in ways that at the surface appear to discourage racially-motivated violence but that was likely viewed by supporters as demonstrating violent intentions (and purposefully so). For example, Damigo posted on Discord: “don’t go around using the specific 14W [words]. It was written by a terrorist, not exactly what we want to use.”¹⁷⁸ In our opinion, Damigo’s message is an example of a common practice in white supremacism – referencing an incendiary idea such as genocide or terrorism to signal approval of that idea or its importance while providing a cover story against accusations that the message is promoting violence. Damigo reminds the reader that David Lane penned the 14 words to signal the necessity of racially-motivated violence, underscoring their importance, but notes that care should be taken not to use its “specific” words. Within a white supremacist subculture, readers would typically have had experience with instructions such as avoiding “specific” words and taking care about “what we want to use” as references to the need to manage the optics – rather than as the WSM’s actual agenda.

Defendant Andrew Anglin, the founder and editor of the leading white supremacist website and blog The Daily Stormer (at one point the largest white supremacist website on the Internet), for which

¹⁷³ Charlottesville 2.0, #traditionalist_workers_party, MatthewHeimbach#4345, 2017-06-07 (3:37 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008262.

¹⁷⁴ Charlottesville 2.0, #modchat, Erika#9709, 2017-06-14 (1:17 am UTC), DISCORD-0008280.

¹⁷⁵ Latveria, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-08-07 (4:37 am UTC), DISCORD-0005576.

¹⁷⁶ Parrott#6331, DMs with Bob oliver#2945, 2017-04-08 (12:07 am UTC), DISCORD-0004561.

¹⁷⁷ Fashy Haircut#9734, DMs with Karl North-TX#1929, 2016-11-26 (8:23 pm UTC), DISCORD-0003315.

¹⁷⁸ Identity Evropa, #null, Fashy Haircut#9734, 2016-09-16 (4:39 pm UTC), DISCORD0006144.

Ray was also a writer, prepared a “Style Guide” to instruct Daily Stormer writers and editors on proper syntax, language, and tone for their articles and blog posts. This Style Guide provides explicit instruction in the use of double-speak.¹⁷⁹

The tone of the site should be light.

Most people are not comfortable with material that comes across as vitriolic, raging, nonironic hatred.

The unindoctrinated should not be able to tell if we are joking or not. There should also be a conscious awareness of mocking stereotypes of hateful racists. I usually think of this as self-deprecating humor - I am a racist making fun of stereotype of racists, because I don’t take myself super-seriously.

This is obviously a ploy and I actually do want to gas kikes. But that’s neither here nor there.

Serious articles are fine, and can be written and published with absolute seriousness. However, articles which take a serious tone should not include racial slurs or even rude language about other races.¹⁸⁰

Like Parrott and Damigo, Anglin encouraged his followers and compatriots, such as Ray, to conceal their true intentions through a “light” tone and “self-deprecating humor,” rather than admit to his true intentions (“I actually do want to gas kikes”). Elsewhere, Anglin wrote:

While racial slurs are allowed/recommended, not every reference to non-white should [] be a slur and their use should be based on the tone of the article. Generally, when using racial slurs, it should come across as half-joking - like a racist joke that everyone laughs at because it’s true. This follows the generally light tone of the site. It should not come across as genuine raging vitriol. That is a turnoff to the overwhelming majority of people.¹⁸¹

Anglin also explained, “It’s illegal to promote violence on the Internet. At the same time, it’s totally important to normalize the acceptance of violence as an eventuality/inevitability.” Thus, Anglin advised that “whenever someone does something violent, it should be made light of, laughed at.”¹⁸² In our opinion, readers would have understood that such use of humor was intended to “normalize,” approve of, and encourage violence without explicitly promoting it.

Ray likewise invoked the concept of double-speak in his communications. For example, on a May 1, 2017, episode of the podcast *Salting the Earth*, Ray explained that humor is “a great icebreaker

¹⁷⁹ NOCUSTODIAN00011573.

¹⁸⁰ Andrew Anglin, Daily Stormer Style Guide at 11, #1796741.1.

¹⁸¹ *Id.* at 9.

¹⁸² *Id.* at 15.

for people who are amenable to our ideas” and “a lot more effective than just being super serious all the time.”¹⁸³ As Ray explained, the use of humor and a light tone - a form of double-speak - conveyed a particular meaning to insiders in the WSM without revealing that meaning to outsiders: it “really keeps our opponents off balance, because they can’t tell, they can never be certain, what things we’re absolutely serious about, and what things we’re joking about.”¹⁸⁴ In a Discord post, Ray similarly explained that his approach was “[t]elling the truth in shocking and/or humorous ways.”¹⁸⁵

Another example that is consistent with the white supremacist tactic of double-speak, in our opinion, is Spencer’s proposed “peaceful ethnic cleansing.” At various times, Spencer has claimed that the creation of a white ethnostate was neither an example of white supremacy nor a proposal for genocide. Yet, his own words in other contexts betray an opposite reality. For example, Spencer offered the following during a podcast interview regarding modern day Turkey:

“That is our land. I would absolutely support a unified European effort to take back EuroAsia. And whatever happens to the Turks I don’t give a shit. I don’t care about them. They are ugly and appalling people with no culture...I despise those people...We should just take it from them...I don’t give a flying fuck about national determination...we should rip the entire EuroAsia from them. We should throw every Turk in the ocean...”¹⁸⁶

In the above statement, Spencer clearly advocates both violence and the ideals of white supremacy. Within this context, his previous statements advocating a “peaceful ethnic cleansing” become hollow and clearly misleading. Without this broader context, however, it would be possible to regard Spencer’s proposal for “peaceful ethnic cleansing” as sincere, despite that the term “peaceful ethnic cleansing” is itself a fairly obvious example of internal inconsistency and can be viewed as oxymoronic. As ethnic cleansing clearly refers to a type of genocidal violence that was practiced in the Yugoslavian conflict in the mid-1990s, the idea that there is a peaceful type of genocide is hard to imagine.

In our opinion, the language Defendants used in their posts on Discord to plan UTR was precisely consistent with the double-speak that is emblematic of the WSM. As is typical with the WSM, using that language would have allowed them to motivate participants to engage in confrontation and violence at UTR while claiming that they were not doing so. As an example, Ray posted on June 28, 2017, that “I was thinking that for this event [UTR] we go for the Confederate theme but maybe have some good fashy [fascist] shit embedded in it.”¹⁸⁷ Properly construed, this statement plainly appears to offer a way for Ray to claim that UTR was simply supporting Southern heritage while signaling to insiders its actual agenda. Similarly, a post by Kessler on June 14, 2017, that was accompanied by a photo of Kyle Chapman aka “Based Stickman,” who wielded a large stick and hit counter-protestors at Berkeley with it, reveals and

¹⁸³ July 10, 2017, Robert Azzmador Ray, Salting the Earth Podcast, S2E2.

¹⁸⁴ Brathovd, B. (Host). (2017, May 1). Richard Spencer and the Nationalist House of Pancakes (No. 29) [Audio podcast episode]. In *Salting the Earth*. Third Rail Productions. https://www.podbean.com/media/share/dir-putb7-250dea0?utm_campaign=w_share_ep&utm_medium=dlink&utm_source=w_share.

¹⁸⁵ Vanguard South District, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-07-13 (3:21 am UTC), DISCORD-0005588.

¹⁸⁶ (2018, August 19). Richard Spencer calls for the genocide of all Turks [Video]. Youtube. Retrieved from <https://web.archive.org/watch?v=oSzDnrV5Tas>.

¹⁸⁷ Azzmador#6970, DMs with andrewanglin#3674, 2017-06-29 (1:56 am UTC),DISCORD-0005333.

simultaneously conceals the racialized hatred and violent ambitions of UTR with an attendee prepared to engage in battle with the incongruous label that “[it] really isn’t about hate”¹⁸⁸:



Similarly, in June 19, 2017, with UTR planning well under way, Cantwell posted: “If you kill a Jew, the Jew in you dies with him I hear (This is a tasteless joke, relax kike).”¹⁸⁹

These are just several examples of Defendants making wide use of the WSM strategy of double-speak in their planning of UTR.

5. Defendants Engaged in Front-Stage and Back-Stage Behavior Typical of the WSM

In our opinion, the Defendants were adept at employing front-stage and back-stage behavior in a manner consistent with WSM culture. Defendants seemed acutely attuned to the importance of “optics” and seemed to attempt (with varying degrees of success) to communicate in such a manner that could present a more mainstream image to outsiders while still fueling the extremism of the white supremacist subculture on Discord.

The Defendants repeatedly emphasized the importance of *appearing* non-violent, including at UTR. Damigo stated in Discord on July 31, 2017, “@everyone Charlottesville [sic] is coming up soon and I will be laying out some ground rules as well as speaking to everyone priors to the event, but I would like to make one important announcement today. No shields, weapons or armor should be worn by IE members to the event. *We must never appear publicly to be aggressors*. The contrast between us and our opponents should always be a night and day difference....”¹⁹⁰ In advance of a prior rally in 2017, Parrott

¹⁸⁸ Charlottesville2.0, #alex_jones_chat, MadDimension#8652, 2017-06-14 (10:50 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008279.

¹⁸⁹ AltRight, #general, Radical Agenda#7529, 2017-06-19 (2:41 am UTC), DISCORD-0006626.

¹⁹⁰ Identity Evropa, #announcements, Fashy Haircut#9734, 2017-07-31 (3:20 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006153 (emphasis added).

made explicit his view of the importance of optics for legal purposes, informing TWP members on Discord, “Try to remind folks not to throw the first punch or be too aggressive. It’s important for lawfare and optics that we going about our business and they instigate.”¹⁹¹ TWP members were advised not to use a Nazi salute “in public” even though it was otherwise generally permissible within the party.¹⁹² It is almost certainly for that reason that many of the messages that Defendants posted on Discord, and, in other public or semi-public communications platforms during the planning of UTR, took the form of innocuous front-stage communications. Such messages generally promoted a unified presentation of ideology that concealed overt markers of neo-Nazism and white supremacism. In her deposition, Samantha Froelich noted that “I would say it was like being wolves in sheep’s clothing.”¹⁹³

In the beginning stages of planning UTR, Kessler exchanged a series of text messages with Heimbach that demonstrated his awareness of the importance of “optics” at UTR. While it is plain that Kessler knew and approved of the intended presence of neo-Nazi and Ku Klux Klan at UTR, his text message show that he enlisted Heimbach’s help to ensure that neo-Nazis and Klansmen would not bring robes or symbols or do salutes that would make their allegiances visible at UTR.

Kessler: Supposedly the KKK are trying to do a Charlottesville event in July. I think that will hurt the overall pro-white message. can we convince them to come in plainclothes to the August thing instead?¹⁹⁴

Kessler: Derrick told me NSM and some other groups are probably going to attend. Can you help me make sure everyone knows not to bring nazi or klan iconography to the rally? I don’t want any swastikas or [Nazi] salutes at the event.¹⁹⁵

In our opinion, Kessler’s request is an example of optics, which is fully consistent with broader patterns of operation in the WSM. Moreover, Kessler’s request is consistent with the documented efforts of some WSM groups to rebrand themselves in recent years as closer to the political mainstream to attract new recruits while retaining their allegiance to the core beliefs and practices of white supremacism.

At the same time, consistent with the WSM’s front-stage/back-stage dynamic, we believe it likely that Defendants relied on private, back-stage communications for many of their explicit discussions of violence related to UTR since they had experience in the WSM and would have been aware of instances in which communications that users thought were private were used to expose and prosecute WSM activists.¹⁹⁶ Even before Defendants began to plan UTR, they cautioned Discord users to keep their most extreme ideas and feelings off the platform. For example, Parrott posted the advice that “anybody need to convey any shady shit with me can message me on Telegram...”¹⁹⁷ Several months later, he made the following post on Discord: “try to keep the hardliner stuff off of the public chat.”¹⁹⁸ When planning for UTR was underway, Defendants appear to have encouraged various types of surreptitious communication strategies to keep their messages private. A text exchange on June 5, 2017, from Kessler to Tim

¹⁹¹ tradworker, #lobby, parrott#6331, 2017-04-16 (3:50 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

¹⁹² Matthew Parrott Deposition Transcript, June 26, 2020, at 103:23-104:2.

¹⁹³ Samantha Froelich Deposition Transcript, March 9, 2020, at 36:11-12.

¹⁹⁴ JK00103534.

¹⁹⁵ June 2017, Texts between Jason Kessler and Matthew Heimbach (JAS_001_1_00000271).

¹⁹⁶ Sexton 2019.

¹⁹⁷ Tradworker, #lobby, Parrott#6331, 2017-01-29 (12:48 am UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

¹⁹⁸ Tradworker, #lobby, Parrott#6331, 2017-04-24 (12:31 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

“Treadstone” Gionet (aka “Baked Alaska”) instructed that “a lot of our planning is happening in a secret chat.”¹⁹⁹ The Daily Stormer encouraged attendees to “bring burner phones” with security that erases messages, “don’t make racially charged statements on your event accounts,” “[d]on’t look like a paramilitary force,” and [i]f you are mixed up in heavy stuff get scarce fast.”²⁰⁰ As Ray stated, “I have a little info that I’ve never discussed publicly for reasons that will be obvious.”²⁰¹

The emphasis on separating front-stage and back-stage messages was also evident in Defendants’ stated concern that forums such as Discord were likely to attract law enforcement and anti-racist activist surveillance and undercover access. Indeed, midway through planning for UTR, posts on Discord suggested that the platform had been infiltrated: Vaughn#922 alerted users that “the jews have infiltrated this discord.”²⁰² Kline also posted on August 1, 2017, that “as of the middle of last month we have 100% confirmation that that discord has been compromised by antifa.”²⁰³ And the day before UTR, Kline posted that “this discord is 10000% compromised [sic]. Everyone start using your decentralized networks and things of that nature. Let your people know in their own discords. This is very important. We may be giving out false info in the discord.”²⁰⁴

The Discord culture’s extremism was heightened by Defendants’ apparent efforts to encourage that beliefs directly associated with terrorist violence and genocidal ideologies be confined to the relatively hidden domain of Discord and other “back-stage” venues, while the “front-stage” of UTR would display only less extreme and more polished expressions of belief. In this respect, Defendants - like leaders in similar movements and organizations - were able to “have their cake and eat it too,” with a strategy that allowed them to simultaneously try to avoid certain liabilities while generating an active culture of hatred and violence.

6. Defendants’ Plans for UTR Mirrored WSM Tactics in Calling for Violence

Shortly after the May 13, 2017, Charlottesville rally, dubbed Charlottesville 1.0, Kessler announced a plan for another white supremacist event: “Charlottesville could become the staging ground for the world’s largest White Rights demonstration.”²⁰⁵ Kessler declared that UTR would be an opportunity for a violent confrontation with the perceived enemies of the WSM:

“I think we need to have a Battle of Berkeley situation in Charlottesville. Bring in the alt-right, Proud Boys, Stickman, Damigo, Spencer and fight this shit out. The Antifa are totally disrespecting us and the media is playing the mayor’s fiddle....I think we need a PUBLICIZED event this time. They bring everything they’ve got and we do too.”²⁰⁶

¹⁹⁹ June 5, 2017, Text messages between Bakes Alaska and Jason Kessler (JAS_001_1_00000183).

²⁰⁰ weev, Operational Security for Right Wing Rallies, DAILY STORMER (July 31, 2017), <https://dailystormer.su/operational-security-for-right-wing-rallies/>.

²⁰¹ Latveria, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-07-18 (9:40 pm UTC), DISCORD-0005576.

²⁰² Uncensored Politics, #main, Vaughn#922, 2017-06-26 (2:54 pm UTC), DISCORD-0004375.

²⁰³ Eli Mosely#5269, DMs with McCarthy#6928, 2017-08-01 (7:50 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008808.

²⁰⁴ Charlottesville 2.0, #leadership_discussion, Eli Mosley#5269, 2017-08-11 (7:29 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008290.

²⁰⁵ IRL Networking Events (Alt-Right Events Project), #general, MadDimension#8652, 2017-05-21 (6:54 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006553.

²⁰⁶ IRL Networking Events (Alt-Right Events Project), #general, MadDimension#8652, 2017-05-21 (5:30 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006553.

A few days later, Kessler re-emphasized a plan for a violent confrontation at UTR: “this is going to be a showdown with antifa.”²⁰⁷ Echoing the “battle” rhetoric that circulated in WSM culture to describe earlier events in 2017, Kessler characterized UTR two months in advance as the “Battle of Charlottesville.”²⁰⁸ Viewed in context, it appears to us that Kessler’s comments between May 21, 2017, and June 6, 2017, framed UTR to help ensure that other organizers and attendees approached the event with an aggressive mindset.

a. The Defendants Promoted the Key Ideas That Trigger Racial Violence in the WSM

Defendants used the WSM strategy of disseminating messages that trigger violence by evoking a sense of imminent threat toward the white race and identifying those responsible for these threats as Jews, blacks, immigrants, other minorities, and their supporters.

Our review of posts on the Charlottesville 2.0 and related servers on Discord indicate that messages about the existence and survival of white people as being severely threatened by an array of forces were quite prominent, as was the circulation of grievances about specific issues such as immigration, feminism, and interracial romantic relationships. Such messages map onto the general WSM cultural belief that enemy forces are manipulating and undermining “western culture” by, among other things, initiating demographic changes that will ultimately mean the end of the white race. From these messages, as well as multiple posts that identify purported enemies of the white race and efforts to organize events to publicly target those enemies in order to combat racial threats, it is our opinion that the Discord servers established to facilitate the organization of UTR, especially the Charlottesville 2.0 server, also served as an arena for the extreme and violent messages of racism and anti-Semitism that we know to be characteristic of the WSM culture.

These messages began before the planning for UTR was underway and continued during the planning stage. For example, in March 2017, Damigo recruited participants for Charlottesville 1.0 by describing the effort to remove a Confederate statue as part of a larger “attack on whites... it is an ethnic cleansing.”²⁰⁹ Damigo’s message seemed to encapsulate the sense of an urgent catastrophic threat against the white race that, as we earlier noted, is a common trigger invoked by the WSM to justify racially-motivated violence. In the lead up to UTR, Heimbach likewise urged TWP members to “join us in Charlottesville” to “send a message to the Jewish oligarchs and their hordes of minions that we will not go silently into the night as they desire – no, we will fight them, we will defeat them, and we will secure our people’s destiny.”²¹⁰ On July 9, 2017, Hill wrote to LoS members about UTR, “Are you willing to fight for your flesh and blood, for your sublime civilization? Or will you meekly and supinely submit to what your enemies tell you is your inevitable – and deserved – descent into historical and biological oblivion? I choose life, and to fight in the tradition of my honorable and courageous forebears.”²¹¹ Heimbach also wrote: “Anything that represents White men and women resisting genocide must be destroyed in the eyes

²⁰⁷ IRL Networking Events (Alt-Right Events Project), #general, MadDimension#8652, 2017-05-27 (5:20 am UTC), DISCORD-0006553.

²⁰⁸ Wade’s Grooming Plantation, #general_chat, MadDimension#8652, 2017-06-06 (3:44 am UTC), DISCORD-0008161.

²⁰⁹ IRL Networking Events (Alt-Right Events Project), #general, Fashy Haircut#9734, 2017-03-18 (6:19 am UTC), DISCORD-0006553.

²¹⁰ MWH00040549.

²¹¹ League of the South. (2017, July 9). *Fight or die, white man. I can remember a time back in the early days of what has, praise God* [Status update]. Facebook.

of the enemy, lest our generation and future generations be inspired by the sacrifices of these men and continue their cause to fight for our people.”²¹² Tyrone, someone who appears to have communicated with Defendants on Discord, posted that “This is a civilization of all conflict. It’s not American Genocide, its White Genocide.”²¹³

Likewise, Discord servers associated with Defendants also contained posts that explicitly infused a sense of urgency into perceived threats to the dominance of the white race. These posts continued a long WSM cultural history of positioning the fight against perceived enemies as immediately necessary. The IE Server, in which only members of IE were permitted to post²¹⁴, carried such messages, which we believe would have most likely been interpreted as threats to the white race in the WSM culture of Discord. As examples:

“We’re 100% in the end times”²¹⁵

“@<Rsolobo/Rsolobo#9876> I thinks so too. Europe is almost lost”²¹⁶

“pedophilia is rampant in upper echelons”²¹⁷

“human sacrifices”²¹⁸

“drinking child blood”²¹⁹

Other Discord users and UTR attendees echoed Defendants’ sentiments. For example, a user who went by the Discord handle “Munich” posted: “Hi goys, first big pre-planned [sic] even I’m going to be part of, just wanted to say its going to be a pleasure fighting for the white race alongside all of you.”²²⁰ Another Discord user called “Johnny O’Malley” posted on August 11, 2017, “Everyone let’s get a good night sleep and remember why we are here. To save the white race.”²²¹ Similarly a Discord user called “Gavius Corvus” declared that “We’re fighting for the very survival of our race. Everyone needs to ask themselves what they’re willing to suffer for their people, because if the answer isn’t ‘anything’ you need to reevaluate your conviction.”²²²

The meme below suggests that a true commitment to the WSM as expressed through physical fitness also involves learning about aspects of history related to Nazi Germany and thinking of this past history as a model for the future race war where the white race will “secure” its existence.²²³

²¹² MWH00040550.

²¹³ Charlottesville 2.0, #gear_and_attire, Tyrone#4532, 2017-06-08 (6:21 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008257.

²¹⁴ Alduino Deposition Transcript, December 3, 2018, at 135:9-16.

²¹⁵ Identity Evropa KY/TN, #general, Rsolobo#9876, 2017-06-06 (4:21 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006396.

²¹⁶ Identity Evropa KY/TN, #general, RevStench#3208, 2017-06-06 (4:22 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006396.

²¹⁷ Identity Evropa KY/TN, #general, Rsolobo#9876, 2017-06-06 (4:22 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006396.

²¹⁸ Identity Evropa KY/TN, #general, Rsolobo#9876, 2017-06-06 (4:22 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006396.

²¹⁹ Identity Evropa KY/TN, #general, Rsolobo#9876, 2017-06-06 (4:22 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006396.

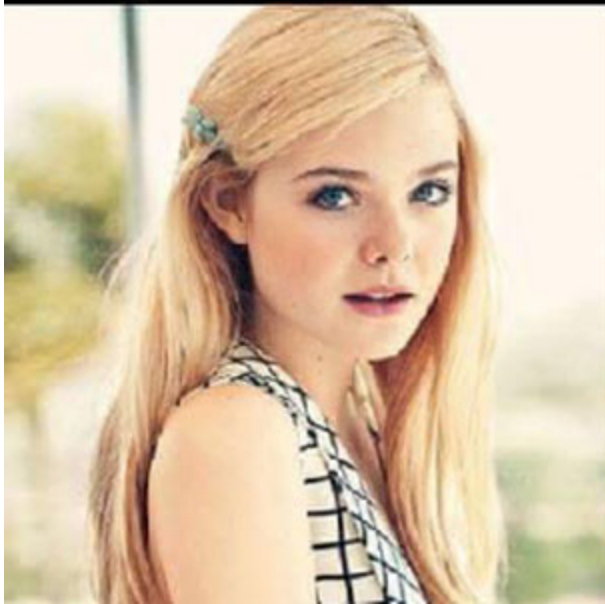
²²⁰ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, Gavius Corvus#7031, 2017-08-07 (8:54 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

²²¹ Charlottesville 2.0/#leadership_discussion, 2017-08-02, DISCORD-0008290.

²²² Charlottesville 2.0/#general_1, 8/7/2017, DISCORD-0008235.

²²³ Charlottesville 2.0 Server, #dc_va_md, AltRightVa#2513, 2017-06-05 (11:55 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008246.

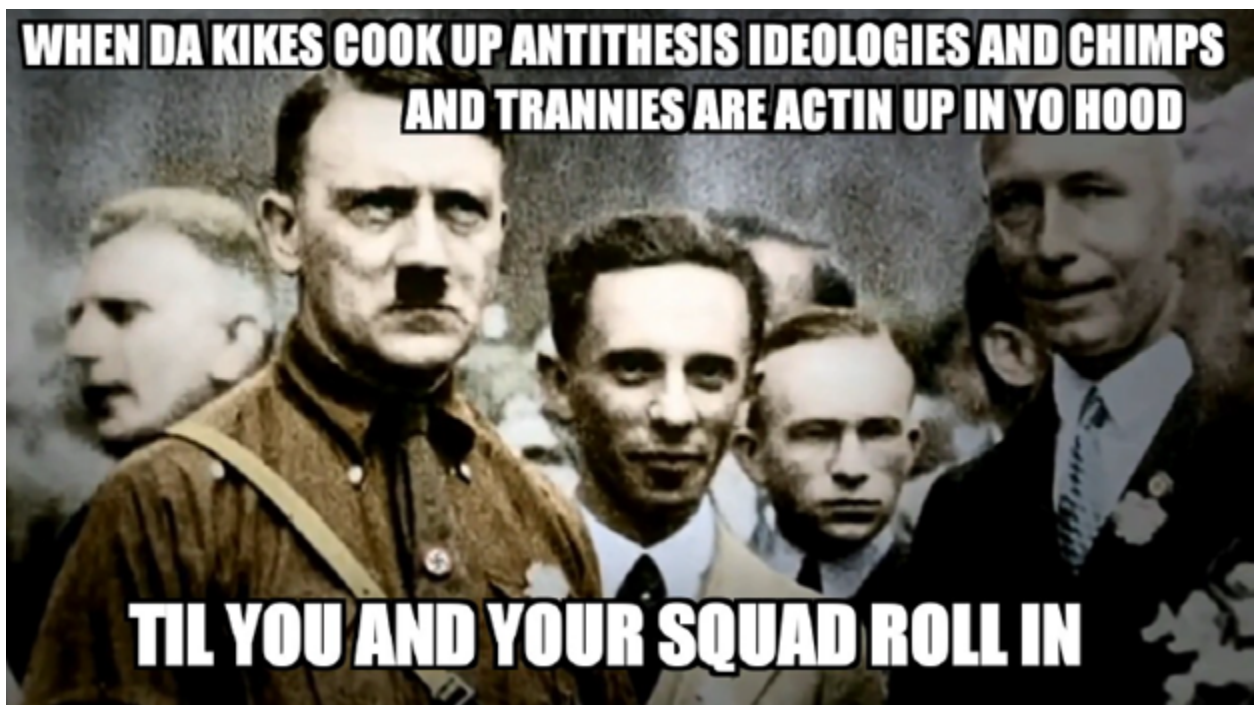
Why people think I lift



Why I actually lift



Within this Discord subculture, the familiar white supremacist claim that the white race is threatened with extinction was reiterated, with the clear implication that UTR was an opportunity to fight that threat, as exemplified in the meme below.



This meme suggests that the Defendants viewed themselves as similarly situated to the Nazi regime and Adolf Hitler in that, as they see it, their identity as whites was facing a broad threat. It appears that this empathetic view towards the Nazi regime permitted the Defendants to view the Nazis' violent tactics as justified. Within the context of planning for UTR, the Defendants invoked this supposed shared understanding of the Nazis not just to promote a single rally, but rather as an effort to help instigate and fight a broader race war.²²⁴

b. Defendants Glorified Violence While Planning and Organizing UTR

The glorification and emulation of specific individuals who commit white supremacist-inspired violence represents a longstanding cultural practice for the WSM. As part of this tradition, white supremacists valorize these violent individuals as “martyrs for the cause” and “prisoners of war” (for those who are incarcerated following their crimes).²²⁵ Heimbach explicitly referenced this cultural practice in February of 2017, stating on Discord: “Amen, we must bring back the cult of the martyr for our struggle.”²²⁶ In our opinion, valorizing violent white supremacists in that way is consistent with what we have found more broadly in the WSM. Leaders of the WSM make it clear to adherents of the movement that people who commit acts of racially-motivated violence in support of the movement will be supported after the fact and celebrated as martyrs.

A number of Defendants expressly demonstrated their awareness of the cultural practice of supporting those who commit violence in the name of white people and the importance of maintaining the practice in relation to UTR. In a public plea to raise money for Cantwell after his arrest at UTR, entitled “Chris Cantwell did Nothing Wrong,” Parrott wrote, “we all have a solemn duty to send a clear message to future fighters that if the system comes after you, you will never be left behind your nationalist comrades.”²²⁷ Indeed, Parrott testified about a system whereby white supremacists who are arrested – including alleged mass murderers Robert Bowers and Patrick Crusius, the alleged El Paso shooter – are systematically provided financial and other support through what he calls the “Global Minority Initiative.”²²⁸

Two individuals in particular are well-known martyrs in the WSM that are often referred to as sources of inspiration in the movement: Dylann Roof and Adolf Hitler. In the lead-up to UTR, rally attendees invoked Dylann Roof, who killed nine African Americans in a church in Charleston, South Carolina, in 2015, as a source of admiration and inspiration. The following Discord post, posted by someone with the Discord handle “Ignis Faatus” four days before the UTR, provides an example of how Roof is discussed within WSM culture:

“Alright guys I’m headed down to free Dylann roof and we are going to head to cville in a parade formation”²²⁹

²²⁴ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, AltCelt(IL)#497, 2017-06-23 (5:27 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

²²⁵ Blee 2002.

²²⁶ tradworker, #tradworker, MatthewHeimbach#4345, 2017-02-07 (11:58 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008206.

²²⁷ NOCUSTODIAN00018446.

²²⁸ Matthew Parrott Deposition Transcript, June 26, 2020, at 241:8-12.

²²⁹ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, Ignis Faatus#5664, 2017-08-07 (7:02 pm UTC),DISCORD-0008235.

Other posts on Discord referenced Roof's bowl-shaped haircut in their statements bringing together his violent actions with their plans for UTR. Three weeks before UTR, Discord user "Fevs#2413" wrote:

"I had a bowlcut last time and I'm showing up with a bowlcut this time 🇺🇸 [white power symbol] gotta take the whole city to church"²³⁰

Another user wrote on Discord of "The bowlcut of St. Dylann Roof."²³¹ One Discord member even chose a handle to seemingly honor Roof: "Tactical BowlCut#441." One of his Discord posts read, "Bowling for Charlottesville."²³² Heimbach helped foster the cult of the martyr by expressing both private and public support for Roof. Privately, he sent Roof a letter in prison, thanking him for his "service to our people."²³³ He then encouraged his followers on Discord to similarly support "our POWs" like Dylan Roof by writing letters. Heimbach told others that Roof should get "a pardon."²³⁴ These posts are important examples, in our opinion, of how WSM culture encourages the emulation of violent white supremacists, and, often does so in relatively innocuous ways such as references to a specific type of haircut. To an outside observer, references to "bowlcuts" may seem innocuous. In fact, such references signify support for mass murder and racially-motivated violence.

Consistent with the cultural practice of glorifying and supporting violence, Defendants made clear that there would be legal support for anyone who ran into legal trouble at the rally, a promise they delivered on after the event. After UTR, Heimbach and another TWP leader, Tony Hovater, visited the jails of white supremacists who had been arrested for violence at UTR, people Heimbach deemed "POWs" by virtue of the sole fact that they were white supremacists in jail.²³⁵ Indeed, Heimbach stated he "travel[ed] the country for what seem[ed] like nonstop recently to visit with [my comrades arrested in Charlottesville], attend court, meet the families, fundraise for the legal fund, et cetera."²³⁶ Heimbach also sent individual letters to people arrested for violence at Charlottesville and thanked them for "their service to our people."²³⁷

Admiration for Adolf Hitler was also prominent on Discord servers. Defendants explicitly referenced Hitler or Nazism in posts in positive tones, as Heimbach did on the eve of UTR: "Hail Victory comrade!"²³⁸ And servers linked directly to the Defendants included "Heil Hitler" and "Heil Hitler!" posts.²³⁹ The Tradworker Server associated with the Traditionalist Worker Party contained the following post of Hitler emulation, even worship that called for a monument to Hitler as a martyr and suggested sainthood for him:

²³⁰ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, Fevs#2413, 2017-07-23 (11:33 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

²³¹ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, Pharaoh Bearclaw III - FL#9426, 2017-07-13 (2:21 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

²³² Bowl Patrol, #bowl_nut_gallery, Tactical BowlCut#441, 2017-08-01 (8:14 am UTC), DISCORD-0005578.

²³³ MWH00041131.

²³⁴ Matthew Heimbach Deposition Transcript, June 3, 2020, at 694:21-695:4.

²³⁵ Matthew Heimbach Deposition Transcript, June 3, 2020, at 676:14-677:2.

²³⁶ Matthew Heimbach Deposition Transcript, June 3, 2020, at 681:21-682:6.

²³⁷ MWH00041131.

²³⁸ tradworker, #lobby, MatthewHeimbach#4345, 2017-08-09, (10:07 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

²³⁹ Identity Evropa, #southwest, Fishbone 🇺🇸#7339, 2016-07-22 (2:45 am UTC), DISCORD-0006152; tradworker, #lobby, 1Robertelee#8245, 2017-08-13 (3:05 am UTC), DISCORD-0008205; Vanguard Texas, #generaldiscussion, Adolf Dankler - TX#6283, 2017-07-05 (11:35 pm UTC), DISCORD-0005547.

I cannot wait until the day finally comes that we can have a towering monument to the world honoring Hitler as the martyr of our people he was. A new pagan-Christian fusion church needs to happen and we will have him as a saint, under Christ of course.²⁴⁰

Defendants also invoked Hitler by posting memes and images. As an example, Ray “created the dankest of memes” for UTR, titling his meme “hitlercharlottesville” and posting it in three Discord servers four days prior to UTR.²⁴¹



hitlercharlottesville.png

Within WSM culture, Hitler and Nazi Germany provide an important historical reference by offering a concrete example of what “Aryans” can achieve, especially in terms of military domination. Thus, it is common for Hitler and Nazi Germany to be associated with contemporary events such as UTR which, in turn, provides the event with the status that Nazi Germany symbolizes within the WSM.

c. The Defendants Used Constant and Pervasive Messaging of Violence

It appears to us that the Defendants posted messages on Discord and elsewhere that encouraged racially-motivated violence at UTR in two ways. Most directly, certain of Defendants’ messages

²⁴⁰ tradworker, #lobby, coltonwilliams#2152, 2017-06-20 (4:22 am UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

²⁴¹ Latveria, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-08-07 (3:30 pm UTC), DISCORD-005576; Thunderdome, #events, Azzmador#6970, 08-07-2017 (8:14 am UTC), DISCORD-0005500; Vanguard South District, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-08-07 (8:08 am UTC), DISCORD-0005588.

explicitly called for and glorified white supremacist violence and signaled their aspirations for a violent confrontation at UTR. More indirectly, however, Defendants also seeded a violent white supremacist subculture on Discord that spiraled into an outpouring of brutal messages of violence and genocide through which anonymous users of the platform prompted each other to engage in violence at UTR.

Defendants circulated images and text that portray Jews and Blacks as enemies who needed to be stopped through violence. Kline posted: “goodbye Jews... they deserve their fate... they are scum ... they deserve the rope.”²⁴² During the planning for UTR, Ray declared that “I want to invest in race-specific bioweapons and nigger killing robots.”²⁴³ Ray also called for “GLOBAL NIGGERDEATH NOW!”²⁴⁴ In our opinion, such comments are consistent with a long history of WSM ideas regarding the importance of using violence to overcome “racial enemies.” For his part, Heimbach posted that it was necessary to “fight” Jews and inserted himself as a willing participant: “@<Kombat-Unit#484> I support any group that is fighting the kikes and their minions.”²⁴⁵ Members of Defendants VA proposed chants, including: “We don’t need no fucking song, to know that Hitler did nothing wrong!”²⁴⁶ TWP members called for UTR attendees to “*FIRE UP THE OVEN TO 1488 DEGREES*”²⁴⁷ Ray posted the image below entitled “Surrender Juden.”²⁴⁸



Ray also posted:²⁴⁹

²⁴² NiggKike Bar Mitzvah, #general, EliKline#5269, 2017-05-19, 2:35 am UTC, DISCORD-0006405.

²⁴³ Thunderdome, #events, Azzmador#6970, 2017-06-29 (8:57 am UTC), DISCORD-0005500.

²⁴⁴ Latveria, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-06-15 (3:54 pm UTC), DISCORD-0005576.

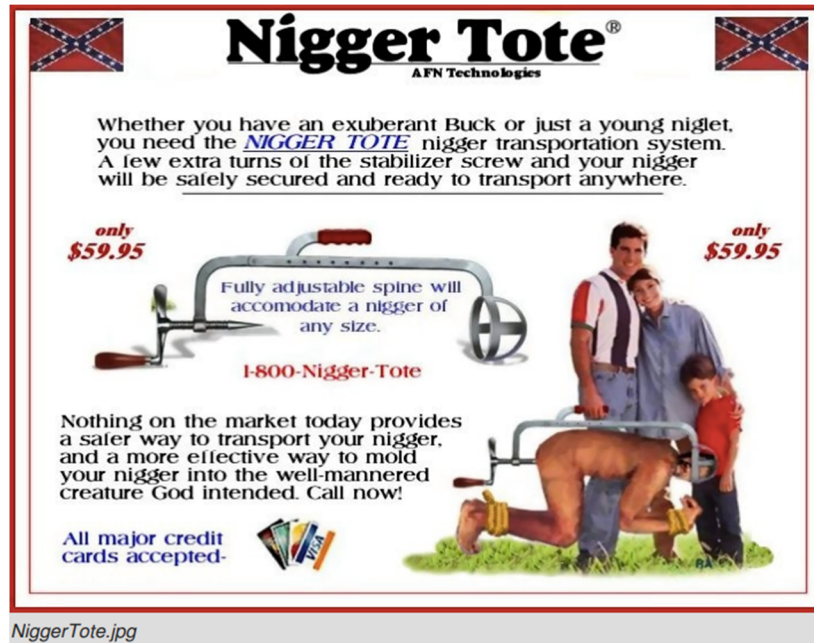
²⁴⁵ tradworker, #tradworker, MatthewHeimbach#4345, 2017-02-07 (11:53 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008206.

²⁴⁶ Charlottesville 2.0, #chants, Aaron - VA#7728, 2017-06-06 (5:15 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008236.

²⁴⁷ tradworker, #lobby, B1488#7323, 2017-06-10 (2:00 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

²⁴⁸ NiggKike Bar Mitzvah, #general, Azzmador#6970, 2017-02-19 (5:35 am UTC), DISCORD-0006405.

²⁴⁹ Bowl Patrol, #bowlnut_gallery, Azzmador#6970, 2017-07-23 (8:26 am UTC), DISCORD-0005578.



And a May 2017 post by Kline presented as lyrics to be sung, was a vicious elaboration of neo-Nazi aspirations for another Jewish genocide. An excerpt from that post reads:

“Oh, yeah Jews in the dirt, babe That ain’t no lie You’ve seen them all gassed you know,
oh I remember you told me That it made you believe in The Jew, must die Maybe that’s
why Every time I gas the jew They always seem to turn so blue We’ll preheat ovens
again But we’re not like them Baby, we’ll gas the heeb It will be real this time Guess
what It’s gonna be ree We’ve got no choice, babe But to get zyklon, and you know
There ain’t no time to waste So just, they’re too blind, to see But in the end, ya know
we’ll gas the heeb”²⁵⁰

In our opinion, that Kline chose to set these violent words to the tune of a song reflects a common white supremacist practice of using music to recruit members and desensitize individuals to the nature of the violence that is being advocated.

Further, these statements by Defendants to a group knowingly sympathetic to their white supremacist ambitions exemplify the precise type of messaging historically relied on by the WSM to stimulate excitement and align participants to a common set of ideas, tactics, and identities. Leaders of these groups are generally aware that once initiated, such subcultures tend to be self-reinforcing and intensify their members’ commitments to a specific way of thinking. For example, Klan leaders may produce the cross-burning ritual and initiate racist and violent chants under the fiery cross, but other participants reinforce the emotional energy and direction of the rally through their own actions and interactions with others.²⁵¹

²⁵⁰ NiggKike Bar Mitzvah, #general, Eli Kline#5269, 2017-05-17 (4:33 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006405.

²⁵¹ Simi and Futrell 2010.

The large volume of specific statements on Discord and elsewhere that specifically encouraged violence at UTR points to consistent patterns that similarly cut across the WSM's history. One active participant on the Charlottesville 2.0 Discover server, who posted under the handle "Tyrone," illustrates this point by drafting the statements below that seemed designed to encourage attendees to consider a number of strategies to enact violence at the UTR:

Tyrone: "'just carry a pocket full of rocks.'" ²⁵²

Tyrone: "'is it legal to run over protestors blocking roadways? I'm NOT just shitposting. I would like clarification.'" ²⁵³

Tyrone: "'a wrench with a wrist lanyard gets the same job accomplished.'" ²⁵⁴

Tyrone: "'I'm bringing Mosin-Nagants w/ bayonets attached... it will shoot clean through a crowd at least four deep. Not if they are the 145 lb variety.'" ²⁵⁵

Tyrone: "'driving over protestors blocking roadways isn't an offense. This is a crossover for this channel and VA law.'" ²⁵⁶

²⁵² Charlottesville 2.0, #virginia_laws, Tyrone#4532, 2017-08-06 (8:11 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008275.

²⁵³ Charlottesville 2.0, #virginia_laws, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-17 (4:22 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008275; Charlottesville 2.0, #virginia_laws, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-17 (4:24 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008275.

²⁵⁴ Charlottesville 2.0, #virginia_laws, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-19 (10:17 am UTC), DISCORD-0008275.

²⁵⁵ Charlottesville 2.0, #questions_for_coordinators, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-24 (11:37 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008278; Charlottesville 2.0, #questions_for_coordinators, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-24 (11:53 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008278; Charlottesville 2.0, #questions_for_coordinators, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-24 (11:53 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008287.

²⁵⁶ Charlottesville 2.0, #shuttle_service_information, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-17 (4:20 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008287.

Tyrone: “Sure would be nice.”²⁵⁷



Of particular note are the last two posts and the image of the “protester digester” referencing the use of vehicles to attack protestors. Part of how violence is generated within WSM culture is by circulating ideas regarding the use of specific types of violence which, as we explained above, helps build violent repertoires. Tyrone himself posted multiple times about using vehicles to run over protestors: “Is it legal to run over protestors blocking roadways?”²⁵⁸ “I’m NOT just shitposting. I would like clarification. I know it’s legal in NC and a few other states. I’m legitimately curious for the answer.”²⁵⁹ Tyrone’s posts are consistent with other messages and memes within WSM culture and, even from other Defendants, regarding car attacks prior to UTR. For example, Fields posted a meme in the same vein depicting a car running into protestors just weeks before UTR.²⁶⁰ Likewise, an unknown Discord user with the handle Tee CA#1233 posted on July 8, 2017, “What is i[t] called when you run over a protester? #BlackLivesSplatter.”²⁶¹ On July 17, 2017, Shane Duffy, a TWP member, posted the following picture and saying: “This will be us.”²⁶²

²⁵⁷ Charlottesville 2.0, #shuttle_service_information, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-17 (4:21 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008287.1.

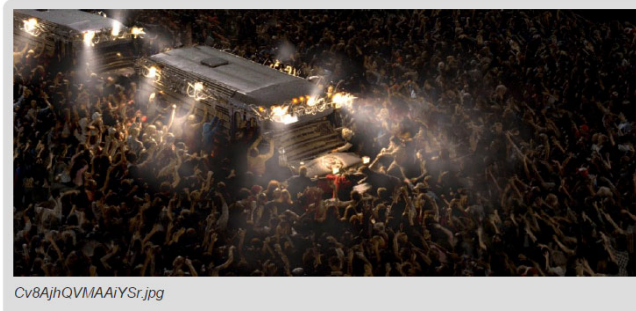
²⁵⁸ Charlottesville 2.0, #virginia_laws, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-17 (4:22 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008275.

²⁵⁹ Charlottesville 2.0, #virginia_laws, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-17 (4:24 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008275.

²⁶⁰ See City_00033057, City_00033056.

²⁶¹ AltRight, #general, Tee CA#1233, 2017-07-08 (12:26 am), DISCORD-0006626.

²⁶² Charlottesville 2.0, #shuttle_service_information, AltCelt(IL)#497, 2017-07-17 (4:05 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008287.



And on August 10, 2017, a Discord user with the handle “Mudkips#8107 posted: “you’re supposed to run over them with yoru [sic] car.”²⁶³

d. Defendants Recruited UTR Participants That Were Willing to Utilize Violence

Our review of Discord makes it clear that the Defendants planned violent confrontations at UTR by recruiting participants that were seemingly likely to be prepared and willing to engage in violence. Specifically, Defendants’ messages seem targeted to individuals and groups that had been previously involved in violent confrontations. Early in the planning process, Kessler posted on Discord that he had successfully enlisted major WSM figures representing the different factions, which each had members who had been involved in violent clashes: “so far I’ve spoken to Heimbach, Spencer, McInnes, Baked Alaska, Enoch and Stickman. All of them are onboard for a Unite The Right event in Charlottesville.”²⁶⁴

Kessler and Kline worked together to involve Kyle “Based Stickman” Chapman, who we understand earned his nickname at the Battle of Berkeley, as referenced above. After successfully recruiting Chapman, Kessler and Kline reviewed and approved of a press release about UTR from Chapman that called for violence at UTR by telling his followers that they had “to fight back or submit.” It does not appear that either Kessler or Kline expressed any concern about Chapman’s explicit call for violence and instead expressed concern that the press release “backs himself in the corner by pretending some of our guys aren’t Nazis.”²⁶⁵

Heimbach also indicated his knowledge of the violent groups being invited to UTR. In a text exchange between Heimbach and Andrew Anglin (leader of the Daily Stormer), the two discussed Anglin’s potential promotion of Heimbach’s UTR materials. In that communication, Heimbach listed multiple groups with violent histories as being involved with UTR, including TWP, NSM, VA, and LoS. Heimbach has also testified that Ray had a reputation for violence.²⁶⁶

Another example of Defendants’ decision to invite violent individuals and groups to UTR was the inclusion of the violent white supremacist fight club Rise Above Movement (RAM). Although RAM had only formed in 2016, the group quickly developed a reputation for committing violence at several political rallies. This reputation was informed, in part, by the group’s own promotion of its violence particularly in choreographed propaganda training videos distributed via social media. Several RAM

²⁶³ AltRight, #general, Mudkips#8107, 2017-0810 (2:56 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006626.

²⁶⁴ IRL Networking Events (Alt-Right Events Project), #general, MadDimension#8652, 2017-05-30 (8:03 pm UTC), DISCORD-006553.

²⁶⁵ JK00030207-JK00030210.

²⁶⁶ Matthew Heimbach Deposition Transcript, June 3, 2020, at 557:19-21.

members, including leader and founder Rob Rundo, Mike Miselis, and Aaron Eason, were also members of IE. They attended the Battle of Berkeley with Damigo and participated in MMA fight clubs with IE member and now leader, Patrick Casey. Rundo, Ben Daley, and Miselis were all participants in the Charlottesville 2.0 Discord server. RAM members seemed to understand that their invitation to UTR was largely connected to their history of violence at public rallies. On Discord, Daley posted the following: “Need room for at least 3 Goys from CA. For Friday and Saturday night. Solid sober respectful experienced at these events all were in Berkeley riots. Plz let me know.”²⁶⁷ Daley’s post is both an admission and a reminder that the RAM members planned to attend UTR and were prepared to commit violence at the event. On Jun 30, 2017, Miselis posted to Discord that he was “Looking forward to the day,” and specifically noted that he “Will be bringing another Berkeley/Huntington vet” – a reference to two previously violent WSM events.²⁶⁸

Four RAM members ultimately attended UTR: Daley, Miselis, Cole White, and Thomas Guillen, and each of them was involved in violent assaults at UTR. Video footage on Saturday, August 12, 2017, depicts Daley and Miselis assaulting counter-protesters alongside Kline. Daley’s sentencing memo indicates that he knew that, prior to the UTR, RAM members would be committing violence at the event and was fully aware that attendees, including RAM members, were expected to commit violence at the event.²⁶⁹

It is apparent that, early in the planning for UTR, Kessler recognized that the coalition he and his fellow defendants were assembling for UTR contained violent and volatile persons and groups: “the alt-right is a dangerous movement. It feeds on the chaos energy of our unchecked racism bantz but in IRL activism you have to be more like a civil rights movement for whites. Its difficult to say that you can contain that manic energy and maintain the enthusiasm.”²⁷⁰ It is difficult to view the decision of Kessler and the other defendants to include these violent individuals and groups in UTR as anything other than as an endorsement for violence and, in our opinion, as consistent with the WSM’s history of organizing events by including members with known violent histories.

e. The Violence Planned on Discord Played Out on August 11-12, 2017, By Both Defendants and Other Discord Participants

As we discussed above, ritualistic displays of white power serve to normalize violence. Those displays often follow a familiar progression: participants evolve from (1) expressing violent ideas and (2) using intimidating but nonviolent symbols and behaviors to (3) committing overt acts of violence.

In our opinion, the planning stages of UTR involved the dissemination of (1) and (2) - violent ideas and the use of intimidating symbols, primarily on Discord. The weekend of August 11 and 12 involved all three components - violent ideas, intimidating symbols and behaviors, and overt violence. As described below, some of the violence was committed by Defendants themselves in precisely the manner they indicated would happen. Some of the violence was committed by others connected to the

²⁶⁷ Charlottesville 2.0, #lodging_wanted, Ben Daley#9962, 2017-07-24 (7:41 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008266.

²⁶⁸ Charlottesville 2.0, #identity_evropa, Chuck Anhöven – CA#6028, 2017-06-30 (1:29 am UTC), DISCORD-0008264.

²⁶⁹ Sentencing Memorandum of the United States, *United States of America v. Benjamin Daley*, 18-cr-25, ECF No. 142, at 13.

²⁷⁰ IRL Networking Events (Alt-Right Events Project), #general, MadDimension#8652, 2017-05-20 (4:26 am UTC), DISCORD-0006553.

Defendants in a manner that appears to have been influenced by the racially-violent subculture the Defendants imported into Discord. In any event, however, the violence at UTR closely followed the WSM playbook.

The torch march was the first example from the weekend of August 11 and 12 of violence that incorporated the symbolism of white supremacy. It also was the logical outgrowth of much of what was discussed over the summer of planning the event. The decision to have marchers hold fire torches during the Friday evening march is consistent with a long WSM history of ritualistic displays of fire for the purposes of intimidation and has various associations with the KKK, Nazi Germany, and the Holocaust.²⁷¹ In this event, members of the procession began chanting in unison, “You will not replace us,” and “Jews will not replace us” which refers to the idea of a genocidal plot by an international conspiracy of Jews to eradicate the white race, sometimes referred to as “replacement theory.” Marchers also chanted “blood and soil,” another phrase borrowed from Nazi Germany. Throughout the Friday night torch march (and continuing into the Saturday event), aggressive statements were expressed that were in keeping with prior WSM events and messaging, including the following by unnamed individuals who were yelling at bystanders and counter-protesters: “blood and soil”²⁷²; “fuck’n marxist scum motherfucker”; “throw some hands”; “fuck’n leftist piece of shit”; “this is our town now”; and “Pinochet did nothing wrong.”²⁷³ Predictably, the racially symbolic and aggressive march, which was led by certain Defendants, culminated in violence by the white supremacists against the relatively few counter-protestors in attendance. Consistent with WSM culture, the counter-protestors were portrayed by the white supremacists as “outsiders” that posed some sort of threat, which “justified” the violence toward them, according to the white supremacists. In reality, the counter-protestors appeared to be simply peaceful protestors speaking out against white supremacy.

Another example of racially-motivated violence from UTR that was expressly foreshadowed by Defendants took place on Saturday. In a post to Discord a month before UTR, Ray claimed, “Myself & some of the other Daily Stormer guys are gonna be out front with a big bully squad hogging all the attention & gassing all the kikes.”²⁷⁴ This post, on its face, indicated plans to attend the UTR with a “bully squad” as well as his intentions regarding “gassing all the kikes.” As planned, Ray in fact maced counter-protestors at the torch march, a criminal act for which he was indicted. He is captured on video the following day bragging about his actions in similarly antisemitic terms: “I personally literally gassed half dozen kikes...” In the video, Ray then provides a physical demonstration by motioning with one of his hands in a spraying-like fashion. In short, Ray, a leader in the WSM, publicized his plans on Discord to commit anti-Semitic violence at UTR and then did just that.

In addition to planned violence committed by Defendants themselves, there were examples of violence directly ordered by Defendants on August 11 and 12. For example, multiple sources of video footage depict Heimbach marching alongside Tubbs and other Defendant groups, such as LoS, during the Saturday event as their phalanx approached a group of apparently unarmed counter-protestors gathered in the street. As Defendants came closer to the counter-protestors, Heimbach shouts “shields up” to the

²⁷¹ <https://www.theatlantic.com/politics/archive/2017/08/why-they-parade-by-torchlight/537459/>.

²⁷² Richard Spencer Deposition Transcript, July 1, 2010, at 271:17-19.

²⁷³ Video, “Baked Alaska – Unite the right pre game torch march (August 11).

²⁷⁴ NiggKike Bar Mitzvah, #charlottesville-contact, Azzmador/Azzmador#6970, 2017-07-27 (7:33 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006413.

group. At his command, members of his group, TWP, and the other Defendant groups he's marching with, raised their shields and violently smashed into the group of counter-protesters.²⁷⁵

In addition to planned violence committed and ordered by Defendants, there was violence committed by UTR attendees that, by its nature, appears to have stemmed from the encouragement of specific violent acts discussed by Defendants on Discord. As discussed, a subculture, once nurtured by leaders, can gain momentum that may require only minimal ongoing intervention from leaders to achieve their objectives. When Defendants extended the white supremacist culture into the Charlottesville 2.0 and associated servers on Discord, they likely knew that, with some encouragement, users would urge each other toward the vision for UTR in the specific ways that the Defendants desired, including the use of violence to achieve certain goals such as intimidation/terrorism, recruiting new members, sustaining current members, displaying strength, and causing chaos in the larger community/society to accelerate the conditions necessary to execute a full-blown race war (RaHoWa).

One example of violence that was encouraged on Discord by the Defendants and their compatriots and committed by UTR attendees on August 11 and 12, in addition to car attacks, was the use of flagpoles with which to beat counter-protesters, while doubling as supposed "free speech" implements. As Kessler stated on June 7, 2017 on Discord: "We should bring picket signs that can be used as sticks to bludgeon our enemies if they get violent."²⁷⁶ Similarly, "Tyrone" commented, "I'm thinking of flying one of these [flag poles] at the rally, mostly so I can have an axe handle or 2 on hand."²⁷⁷

Many UTR attendees followed suit. After Michael Tubbs and Heimbach led the charge with shields into counter-protesters, several UTR attendees began to use flag poles as weapons by gouging or stabbing various counter-protesters with the bottom end.²⁷⁸ One particularly brutal use of a flagpole as a weapon was committed by Vasillis Pistolis, a friend of Heimbach's and an affiliate of the white supremacist terror network known as Atomwaffen Division (AWD). Videographic evidence of the Saturday rally depicts Vasillis Pistolis, using a flag pole attached to a flag with Nazi symbolism to assault what appears to be a defenseless counter-protestor laying on the street. Pistolis appears to have posted 395 times on Discord and exchanged direct messages with Kessler, Parrott, and Ray and, as we understand it, would have had access to Kessler and Tyrone's posts regarding using picket signs and flag poles as weapons.

In our opinion, the ideas regarding violence expressed on Discord were consistent with the expression of violent ideas over the course of the WSM's history.

f. The Defendants Ratified Their Use of WSM-Style Violence After the Rally

In the wake of the violence that occurred on August 11-12, 2017, Defendants uniformly and vociferously celebrated and ratified that violence by declaring UTR to have been a victory for the WSM. After the Friday night torch march, Kessler declared that "what we accomplished on Friday night shook the rafters of the entire political establishment"²⁷⁹ and declared the torch march an "incredible moment for

²⁷⁵ Exhibit 103 to Matthew Heimbach Deposition, June 3, 2020.

²⁷⁶ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, MadDimension#8652, 2017-06-07 (2:44 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

²⁷⁷ Charlottesville 2.0, #flags_banners_signs, Tyrone#4532, 2017-06-19 (2:05 am UTC), DISCORD-0008240.

²⁷⁸ Exhibit 103 to Deposition of Matthew Heimbach, June 3, 2020; *see also* National Geographic video, "See the Sparks That Set Off Violence in Charlottesville," at 19:31.

²⁷⁹ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, MadDimension#8652, 2017-08-13 (10:59 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

white people who've had it up to here & aren't going to take it anymore..."²⁸⁰ In the days following UTR, Kessler declared on Twitter that "Heather Heyer was a fat, disgusting Communist. Communists have killed 94 million. Looks like it was payback time."²⁸¹ Fields appeared to show no remorse for his actions. His telephone calls from jail seem to confirm that he believed that his actions on August 12, 2017, were justified. Fields told his mother that Heather Heyer's death "doesn't fucking matter" because she was "the enemy."²⁸² After UTR, Kline spoke with his then-girlfriend telling her that UTR was a "success overall" and that he was "a fucking war hero."²⁸³ Kline also sent a direct message on Discord to another IE member declaring UTR an "overall victory."²⁸⁴ Other Defendants echoed these sentiments:

- Damigo: "This was a huge victory for us."²⁸⁵
- Spencer: "It was a huge moral victory in terms of the show of force."²⁸⁶
- Parrott: "Aside from having a couple men unfairly held behind the wire, Charlottesville was a tremendous victory."²⁸⁷
- Hill: "it's been an eventful, what 11 days or so here since the rally there in Charlottesville on the 12th of August. A lot has transpired and I couldn't -- I couldn't be happier with the outcome of this for the League."²⁸⁸
- Ray: "This event was a huge victory for the Alt Right."²⁸⁹
- Schoep: "It was an Honor to stand with U all in C'Ville this weekend. NSM, NF, TWP, LOS, VA, ECK, CHS, and the rest, true warriors!"²⁹⁰

Following the Defendants' lead in their declarations of victory and success, other attendees of UTR and users on Discord servers associated with the Defendants also seemed to celebrate the violence in Charlottesville. For example:

"Today was a Beer Hall Putsch. Celebrate, for what comes next is glorious. @<WASP-VA#318>"²⁹¹

"1 dead antifa supporter 2 dead cops 35 ppl injured International coverage. This is a failure how? Were you gathering folks in the park to register them to vote for your mass movement? Or are

²⁸⁰ Kessler, J. [@TheMadDimension]. (2017, August 11). *Incredible moment for white people who've had it up to here & aren't going to take it anymore. Tomorrow we #UnitetheRight #Charlottesville* [Tweet]. Twitter. (Exhibit 29 to the Deposition of Jason Kessler, May 16, 2018.)

²⁸¹ Kessler, J. [@TheMadDimension]. (2017, August 18). *Heather Heyer was a fat, disgusting communist. Communists have killed 94 million. Looks like it was payback time.* [Tweet]. Twitter.

²⁸² Sentencing Memorandum of the United States, *United States of America v. James Alex Fields, Jr.*, 18-cr-11, ECF No. 50, at 43.

²⁸³ Samantha Froelich Deposition Transcript, March 9, 2020, at 159:8-22.

²⁸⁴ Eli Mosley#5269, DMs with wyatt#1030, 2017-08-12 (6:50 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008632.

²⁸⁵ Exhibit 39 to Nathan Damigo Deposition, June 10, 2020.

²⁸⁶ Exhibit 47 to Spencer Deposition, July 1, 2020.

²⁸⁷ NOCUSTODIAN00044703.

²⁸⁸ James Michael Hill Deposition Transcript, June 18, 2020, at 243:24-244:5.

²⁸⁹ Azzmador, (2017, August 31), *The Road to Charlottesville and the Shuttening*. Retrieved from <https://dailystormer.su/the-road-to-charlottesville-and-the-shuttening/>.

²⁹⁰ Jeff Schoep (@nsm88), Twitter (Aug. 13, 2017, 10:21 PM).

²⁹¹ Identity Evropa, #cville2, Wilhelm#5377, 2017-08-13 (2:46 am UTC), DISCORD-0006191.

you building a radicalized political organization? Yesterday was a failure only by 1 standard of measure, the systems standard.”²⁹²

“1 dead enemy, 35 injured & 2 dead cops is a win to any true revolutionary fuck your optics & your pr & your autistic memorization of MK. I'm here to fight a fucking war, you are rapidly stacking up as opposition.”²⁹³

7. Defendants Utilized Strategies of Deniability Common to the WSM

In our opinion, Defendants used the common WSM strategy of attempting to shield themselves from the legal consequences of their planned violence at UTR by either framing their calls for violence as necessary “self-defense” or by referring to their racist and violent posts as mere jokes.

In the lead up to UTR, Defendants and other Discord users strategized about how to instigate and engage in violence while simultaneously claiming self-defense. For example, Kessler posted about the well-known WSM tactic of triggering, which is done to provoke targets to attack. Kessler explained the tactic as follows: “We triggered this Jew into attacking one of our guys and charged him with assault.”²⁹⁴ Kessler encouraged Charlottesville 1.0 attendees to “come back to Charlottesville and trigger these SURJ [Showing Up for Racial Justice] assholes.”²⁹⁵ He also noted that “If Bellamy shows up we talk shit and try to trigger a chimpout.”²⁹⁶

Kessler also advised UTR attendees on how to assault counter-protesters under the guise of self-defense: “if you want a chance to crack some antifa skulls in self-defense don’t open carry. You will scare the shit out of them and they’ll just stand off to the side...”²⁹⁷ Other Discord users also posted about using the guise of self-defense to hide their violent intentions. For example, Tyrone posted, “What if we are sociopathic and want them [Antifa] to show up, for....self defense purposes?”²⁹⁸ In our opinion, these posts reflect a broader strategy by Defendants and others on Discord to find a way that attendees could engage in violence while retaining plausible deniability about their intent.

Defendants also created posts and memes promoting racial violence that they then could claim were merely off-color jokes, meant to be considered as ironic rather than as serious proposals. In our opinion, joking is a form of double-speak.²⁹⁹ As we explained above, The Daily Stormer Style Guide specifically instructs members of the WSM to use “self-deprecating humor – I am a racist making fun of stereotypes of racists, because I don’t take myself super-seriously. This is obviously a ploy and I actually do want to gas kike. But that’s neither here nor there.”³⁰⁰ Kline actively urged members of IE to adopt this strategy.³⁰¹ In an exchange in her deposition, Ms. Froelich explained the IE strategy of cloaking ideologies in the form of jokes:

²⁹² tradworker, #lobby, My Name Is Hate#8567, 2017-08-13 (1:14 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

²⁹³ tradworker, #lobby, My Name Is Hate#8567, 2017-08-13 (2:15 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008205.

²⁹⁴ The Discord Stuff, #general, MadDimension#8652, 2017-06-04 (6:08 am UTC), DISCORD-0006366.

²⁹⁵ IRL Networking Events (Alt-Right Events Project), #general, MadDimension#8652, 2017-05-30 (7:44 pm UTC), DISCORD-0006553.

²⁹⁶ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, MadDimension#8652, 2017-7-11 (6:11:09), DISCORD-0008235.

²⁹⁷ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, MadDimension#8652, 2017-06-09 (12:55 am UTC), DISCORD-0008235.

²⁹⁸ Charlottesville 2.0, #antifa_watch, Tyrone#4532, 2017-07-23 (4:26 pm UTC), DISCORD-0008291.

²⁹⁹ Simi and Futrell 2010; Blee 2002.

³⁰⁰ NOCUSTODIAN000111573.

³⁰¹ Samantha Froelich Deposition Transcript, March 9, 2020, at 80:20-81:2.

It was a way to make it palatable for the people who already have an edgier, gallows humor; but also it was a way that if someone were to call you out on it and say, ‘Hey, that’s – that’s really disgusting ideology,’ you can say, ‘It’s just a joke. We don’t mean it,” even though you did. [Q. · And so was it actually just a joke or was it for the purpose of plausible deniability?] Plausible deniability. It’s a cover. It’s -- yeah, absolutely. [Q. Did you discuss this concept of using humor intentionally for plausible deniability with anybody within the Alt Right?] Yes.³⁰²

In our opinion, this strategy was deliberately weaponized to provoke violence or planted to create a defense in advance of a provoked violent incident. As a user posted on Discord’s Charlottesville 2.0 server two weeks before UTR: “‘Umm, your honor, all that shit about doing violence and joking about it being in ‘self-defense’ was also a joke.’”³⁰³ And at UTR, Ray explained, “it’s humor but we mean it” after describing how he had “personally literally gassed half dozen kikes...”

8. Conclusion

In our opinion, the events in Charlottesville orchestrated and implemented by Defendants on August 11 and 12, 2017, quite plainly followed the playbook of the WSM. Our exhaustive review of their planning materials makes it apparent that the Defendants utilized WSM tactics, principally the reliance on racial animus as a motivator, the intentional use of violence to achieve their goals, and a coordinated strategy to obfuscate their aims through the use of “double-speak,” “front-stage/back-stage” behavior, and a discrete and new-age communication platform.

³⁰² Samantha Froelich Deposition Transcript, March 9, 2020, at 79:23-80:14.

³⁰³ Charlottesville 2.0, #general_1, Herr Schmidt - MI#3502 2017-07-26 (2:33 am UTC), DISCORD-0008235.